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MONDAY, JANUARY 5, 1891.

RETROSPECT OF 1890.

THE curtain has dropped over another year. When the year 1890 opened we were engaged carrying on negotiations with the Lamas of Tibet through the Chinese Amban for the final settlement of the Sikkim question. These protracted negotiations at last came to a close and a Convention was concluded with China, by which the Pekin Government recognised the suzerainty of the British Crown over Sikkim. It was further agreed that a Joint Commission should be appointed for the purpose of considering the question of giving trade facilities between India and Thibet. This Commission was about to be constituted when the year closed. There was an outbreak in Northern Lushai-land, which resulted in the death of two British Officers. It was one of those outbursts of savagery which cannot be foreseen and therefore cannot be prevented. An Expedition was despatched with a view to chastise the offending tribes. [illegible] Leupunga and towards the close of the year Lalupunga and other chiefs who had instigated the rising unconditionally surrendered. An expedition was sent into the Black Mountain district. The military promenade was to have been confined to British territory, there being no intention to cross the frontier line. But as General McQueen's advance from Oghi was opposed by a section of the Hassanzais, it was decided to send a punitive expedition against them in the spring. It was resolved to despatch a punitive expedition against such sections of the Orakzais on the Kuranzai border near Kohat as have not paid their fines and made their submission.

In Europe all the States kept themselves armed to the teeth as before and were fully prepared to meet the worst; but the year fortunately passed away without the outbreak of any hostilities in that Continent. In the early part of the year there was a rising in Crete and on one occasion the Turkish force was defeated; but the rising was soon suppressed. The deliberations of the Anti-Slavery Conference which had assembled at Brussels in the autumn of 1889 came to a close and a Convention was concluded with every prospect of its being carried out. The retirement of Prince Bismarck from the German Chancellery in the early part of last year caused a profound sensation throughout the whole civilised world, and a good deal of speculation was naturally rife as to the motives which had led the Prince to take such a step. It was apprehended in some quarters that the young Kaiser would not be able to guide the vessel of the State safely without the aid of the Iron Chancellor; but this feeling was soon removed. The events after the retirement of Prince Bismarck convinced Europe that the Kaiser was not a head-strong impetuous youth who longed to plunge his Empire into war, but a monarch capable of self-restraint and endowed with statesmanship. The retirement of the Iron Chancellor considerably modified the Foreign policy of Germany and divested it of much of its aggressiveness. The Emperor as well as the new Chancellor gave proof of their good feelings towards England and recognised the importance of maintaining friendly relations with her. The Kaiser again visited the country of his mother and met with a most enthusiastic reception. The good feeling existing between England and Germany was strengthened by the conclusion of the Anglo-German Convention. Germany made some concessions to England in Africa as a set off to which she obtained the possession of Heligoland. So great had been the desire of Germany to get hold of this little island at the mouth of the Elbe that it had been the subject of correspondence between the German Chancellery and the British Foreign Office for 20 years. Emperor William had thus the satisfaction of effecting unaided what the Iron Chancellor had failed to achieve. The visit of the Kaiser to the Czar at a later period of the year caused much anxiety in Austria where they are always very nervous about the Triple Alliance, and it had also some effect upon the Bulgarians. Both in Sophia and Vienna the belief prevailed that the two Emperors must include the Bulgarian question in the topics which they would discuss at their meeting and the impression existed that the Kaiser would be glad to come to some understanding with the Czar on the subject. The Bulgarians feared that, in order to purchase the friendship of Russia, the German Emperor might be tempted to depart from Prince Bismarck's "policy" and agree to concessions which might be injurious to Bulgaria. But these fears were not realised, and there was no reason to suppose that the Bulgarian question was at all discussed at the meeting between the Kaiser and the Czar. In the best-informed circles it was believed that nothing but courtesies passed between the two monarchs. The Kaiser also paid a visit to Austria. His reception in Vienna was the most brilliant affair that had been seen in the Austrian capital for many years, and afforded an eloquent testimony of the value which the Austrians attached to the German alliance. It was rumoured that the Czar intended to visit the Sultan; but this intention, if it ever existed, was not carried out. Affairs in Armenia went from bad to worse and the Sultan at last screwed up courage to inflict nominal punishment on Moussa Bey, who was tried and banished to Mecca, a place which it is the aim of every devout Mussulman to visit at least once in his life-time. The Sultan dared not punish the author of the Armenian outrages severely for fear lest the Kurds should rise and commence a wholesale massacre of the Christians in Armenia. Last year the French Republic attained its twentieth anniversary, thus falsifying the gloomy predictions of those who, arguing from the experience of the past century, believed that no form of Government in France could last a score of years. During the past year not only France was quiet and contented, but an air of calmness pervaded the other armed camps into which the nations of Europe are divided. There was a revolution in Switzerland. The inhabitants of Bellinzona, the capital of the Canton Ticino, rose against the Government, seized some of the Councillors and appointed a Provisional Government. The revolution was made by the advanced Liberal party against the Conservative Ultramontane Government which had remained in office for nearly a quarter of a century. The Federal Council at Berne at once took measures to vindicate its authority, and the revolutionary element quieted down and the Provisional Government retired.

The affairs of the Dark Continent occupied a good deal of public attention during the past year. The "Race for Africa" was run with more than usual vigour and energy and the year was rendered memorable by the completion of the delimitation of European spheres of influence in that continent. In this way all causes of England's quarrel with Germany and France were removed. Mention has been already made of the Anglo-German Convention. Although the arrangement made with Germany was condemned by Lord Salisbury's opponents, it met with the approval of Mr. H. M. Stanley, the great African explorer, and of the British East Africa Company. An Anglo-French Agreement relating to Africa was also concluded. This arrangement, too, was of the usual give-and-take order, though it differed from the Anglo-German Convention, in that England gave a good deal more than she took. France consented to the establishment of an English Protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, while England admitted the protecterate of France over Madagascar. England further recognised that the sphere of French influence in Africa should extend beyond the French possessions of Algeria, Senegal and the Niger. The portion of the Anglo-French Agreement relating to Madagascar did not prove acceptable to the British public, though all right-minded persons felt that the French position in Madagascar was precisely similar to the British position in Zanzibar. England also made a treaty with Portugal relating to Africa, but it came to nothing. The new Portuguese Government which was formed after a great deal of trouble, turned obstinate over the ratification of the African convention. A temporary arrangement for six months was, however, concluded with Portugal, which continued the *status quo ante*, and left both parties absolutely free when that period was over to reconsider the territorial understanding which existed. All these agreements were based on the recognition of the principle of "Hinterland," which means that a Power which has a given length of the coast line of a country shall have a right to occupy all the territories lying behind that coast on which none of its civilized neighbours already possesses sovereign rights. During the past year England carried on negotiations with Italy regarding the African question, but these were broken off, and the rock upon which they split was the fate of *Kassala*. The rupture of the negotiations and the abandonment of the attempt to frame an Anglo-Italian convention did not, however, involve the slightest breach of the friendly relations which subsist between the two countries. The past year witnessed the conclusion of a convention between England and the Transvaal in regard to Swaziland. The fate of this little strip of territory on the north-east coast of Africa which had been the subject of prolonged negotiation between the British Cabinet and the Pretoria Government, was thus decided. The arrangement made with the Transvaal met with the approval of the Cape Government and of the British South Africa Company. The first fruits of the renewal of English influence in Zanzibar were shown in the decree which the Sultan issued practically abolishing slavery in his dominions. This decree absolutely prohibited, from the date of its issue, the exchange, sale or purchase of slaves; ordered all houses hitherto kept for those purposes to be closed for ever; and prescribed severe penalties for slave-brokers and dealers who might continue to exercise their unlawful calling. The Sultan's edict did not, however, direct an immediate emancipation of the slaves in Zanzibar territory as such a step would have required an amount for compensation which His Highness's Treasury did not contain. But it was distinctly provided in the decree that on the death of their owners existing slaves should be *ipso facto* free, and the slave-owner was deprived of the power of willing away his slaves to any but his lawful offspring. After the conclusion of the Anglo-German Convention the Germans continued to push their interests in East Africa with great vigour. The Berlin Government entered into an agreement with the German East Africa Company by virtue of which the latter agreed to pay to the Sultan of Zanzibar the sum of four million marks as indemnity for the surrender of his sovereign rights over the portion of the coast hitherto leased to the Company. Some German adventurers who had strayed into Witu were massacred, and the Sul-

tan having refused to surrender the assassins, the British Government adopted prompt measures to avenge the outrage. Forces were sent by the Admiral in charge of the British Fleet to attack and destroy certain villages on the Witu coast which were directly implicated in the massacre, and the villages were burnt. The horrible disclosures made in connection with the rear guard of the Emin Pasha Relief expedition caused a profound sensation throughout the whole civilsed world and produced a most painful impression upon other nations with regard to certain acts done by Englishmen in Africa.

There was a Civil war in the Argentine Republic, which occupied a far greater share of the attention of the British public than the African delimitation disputes, for the very good reason that it directly affected John Bull's pocket. The British capitalist having largely invested in the National Debt of the Republic naturally watched the course of events therein with great interest and anxiety. The net result of the Civil war in the Argentine was that a weak, bad, if not a criminal, President was got rid of in a form which saved the appearances of loyalty. And with Celman fell his gang of parasites which drained the life-blood of the country. The British Government offered to submit the question in dispute between themselves and the United States concerning the Behring Straits Seal Fisheries to arbitration; but this proposal did not find favour in Washington. Lord Salisbury, however, told Mr. Blaine in plain terms that Her Majesty's Government had always claimed the freedom of navigation and fishing in the water of the Behring's Sea outside the usual territorial limit of one marine league from the coast; and that if British sealers were interfered with in the Behring's Sea English war ships would be sent to protect them. This hint probably produced a salutary effect upon the Washington Government, as there was no further seizure of British vessels. The position taken up by Lord Salisbury in this case commanded the approval of the Gladstonian as well as of the Unionist Press, and it became evident that his Lordship would have the support of the entire British nation in showing a firm front to the Washington Government, and in insisting upon proper respect being paid to British rights and interests. A wholesale protection measure—the McKinley Bill—was passed in the United States. It effected a complete revision of the American Tariff and declared war with the whole industrial world. By this system of protection Europe in general and England in particular was hard hit. The protective duties on the various goods which European countries had been in the habit of sending across the Atlantic were fixed on a high scale, in order to enable America to become a great manufacturing country and to foster her industries by keeping imports as low as they could possibly be kept. There was a rising among the North American Indians in Dakota, which was caused by a breach of faith on the part of the United States Government. The agents of that Government had recently induced the Indians to accept a treaty arranging for the sale of their lands, promising them substantial benefits in return, but afterwards cutting down the issue of rations and other supplies, and curtailing the annuities granted to an extent which left the Indian Settlements in a state bordering on starvation.

INDIA IN ENGLAND.

The time and attention of the British public being absorbed with other matters, Indian affairs did not excite much interest either in the House of Lords or in the House of Commons during the past year. There were only two Indian debates in the Upper House and three in the Lower. Early in the year Lord Cross introduced his Indian Councils Bill in the House of Lords. The main object of this measure was to provide that there should always be a statement in the Legislative Council concerning the Budget, whether any legislation was proposed in connection with it or not. But Lord Cross thought it worth while to take the opportunity of throwing a sop to the Indian Reform party by empowering the Viceroy to nominate a few more extra members and to concede the right of interpellation under certain restrictions. The debate on the second reading of Lord Cross's Bill was chiefly remarkable for the fact that two ex-Viceroys and an ex-Secretary of State for India recommended the recognition of the elective principle in the measure in some shape or other. Lord Northbrook pointed out that great advantage was to be derived from having an expression of the opinion of the educated classes in India upon public affairs, and his Lordship asked Her Majesty's Government to consider whether it might not be possible to provide for the introduction of some system of election or selection into the Legislative Councils. Lord Ripon contended that the time had come when the object which the framers of the Act of 1861 had in view in obtaining a representation of Native opinion in the Legislative Councils might be best secured by providing that a portion of non-official members should be chosen by some such bodies as the larger Municipal Councils or other public bodies to be selected. Lord Kimberley also expressed himself in favour of the introduction in some form of the elective element in the Legislative Councils. But in spite of this emphatic expression of opinion on the part of two ex-Viceroys and one ex-Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross declined to provide for the recognition of the elective principle in his Bill, and, in doing this, he was fully supported by Lord Salisbury. The Bill passed the House of Lords substantially in the shape in which it had been originally brought forward, and was sent to the Lower House. Mr. Bradlaugh immediately gave notice that he would, on the motion for second reading, move an amendment providing for the recognition of the elective principle in the Bill. But the expected second reading never came off, and after repeated postponements the measure was eventually withdrawn. A discussion on the subject of the Presidency Commands was raised by Lord Ripon in the House of Lords, which showed that although the Governments of four successive Viceroys had strongly supported the recommendation of the Army Commission for the abolition of these Commands, the Home Government stood in the way of its being carried out. The most important Indian debate of the past Session in the Lower House was that on the Kashmir question raised by Mr. Bradlaugh. He urged with great force that the Maharaja Pertap Singh had been condemned unheard and that common fairness demanded that His Highness should be given an opportunity to clear himself from the charges made against him. The debate, though resultless, did one good thing, inasmuch as it elicited from Sir John Gorst a statement of the real reason for the deposition of the Maharaja. It was asserted that Pertap Singh had been deprived of all powers of administration, in order to give his subjects a better Government. A Bill was introduced into the House of Commons to empower the Secretary of State to raise a sterling loan in London for the purchase of the South of India Railway. On the motion for the second reading of this measure, Mr. A. O'Connor, on behalf of the voiceless Indian taxpayer protested strongly against it, and showed that the railway which Government had decided to buy was a losing concern, and that the transaction would impose a burden on the Indian Exchequer. This protest proved ineffectual and the Bill was carried through Parliament in all its stages and found a place in the Statute-Book. The debate on the Indian Budget, as usual, took place during the closing hours of the Session and was an exceedingly lame affair. Though the number of debates on Indian subjects was small, questions regarding the affairs of this country were frequently asked in both Houses, especially in the Lower, by Mr. Bradlaugh and other friends of India. The House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to consider and report on the alleged grievances of the European members of the Uncovenanted Civil Service in India. The Committee, without entering fully into the merits of the case and examining it in all its bearings, recommended that pensions should be paid to those retired Uncovenanted Servants who choose to reside in Europe, at the minimum rate of one shilling and nine pence, and this recommendation was carried out with retrospe[ct] effect from 1st April last.

The interest which Indian affairs excite[d] Great Britain outside Parliament during the [past] year was very encouraging and full of [hope]. The British public evinced a lively [interest] the Congress Campaign which was [opened] with great ability in the second quarter [of the] year by Mr. Allan Hume, Mr. Eardley [Norton], Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Mr. K. [T.] Mudholkar, and Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji. Numerous successful meetings were held in various parts of England, Scotland and Wales, and were addressed by the delegates, notably by Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee. At all these meetings a resolution expressing sympathy with the aspirations of the educated Indians to [obtain a] share in the administration of their [country] was unanimously passed and a petition to the House of Commons in accordance therewith was adopted. Questions relating to India were also frequently discussed in the periodical press or on the platform, otherwise than in connection with the Congress Campaign. Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji delivered a very able address on the trade of India, in which he clearly explained to his hearers that it was impossible for the country for any length of time to stand the drain to which it was being subjected under British rule. Professor Bryce, M. P., who visited India in the cold weather of 1888-89, in giving his "Impressions" of this country to the merchants of Aberdeen, stated in plain terms that what he had seen out here had convinced him of the desirability of bringing Indian finances under some efficient control—parliamentary under the control of Indian public opinion as well as under the control of public opinion in England. He justly remarked that, as matters now stood, to the question, "Who was to have a hand was given to the military advisers of the Government of India and that there ought to be some authority before whom they should be required to go and prove that their recommendation was really indispensable. Mr. Hugh Childers, M. P., who had been a member of the Gladstonian Cabinet for many years, and who visited this country last cold weather, also gave his "Impressions of India" before the Edinburgh Liberal Club. Mr. Childers reminded the British public that India was the largest of their possessions and that the Indian problem was the most interesting problem before them. He asked them to remember that they must know how to retain the sympathy of the Indian people, without which it was impossible for them to carry on good government in India. Mr. Herbert Reynolds, late Senior Member of the Bengal Board of Revenue, delivered a very able and thoughtful lecture on "The Results of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal" at a meeting of the East India Association held under the presidency of Lord Ripon. Mr. Reynolds proved to demonstration that the great Settlement made by Lord Cornwallis was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that politically it has been a tower of strength to the Empire; that from a social and political point of view it has stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the Province; and that even from a strictly financial stand-point, the surrender of an increased land-tax has been in a great measure compensated by the steady development of other branches of revenue. At another meeting of the same Association General Sir Orfeur Cavenagh discoursed on the important question of the organisation of the European Army in India. The gallant General fully recognised the serious evils of the short service system in so far as India was concerned, but he had not the courage to recommend the best remedy for the same—namely, the reformation of a local European Army for this country. Sir Theodore Hope read an interesting paper on Indian Railways before the Society of Arts, in which he earnestly urged that no visionary commercial advantages and no lust of political predominance in distant countries should tempt the Government of India to advance beyond its existing recognised sphere of influence, or to make paths for its foes across deserts and mountains, which now constitute an efficient barrier of defence. The Northbrook Indian Club entertained Lord Reay at a banquet on his return from the Governorship of Bombay and

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also gave a complimentary dinner to the half dozen Indian students who succeeded in fighting their way to the Covenanted Civil Service last year. Mr. Behramji Malabari proceeded to England and carried on there an agitation with a view to promote his scheme of reforming Hindu society by legislation. Of Indian articles in the British periodical press the most important was Lord Ripon's paper on "The India of To-day" in the *Paternoster Review*. The paper was a masterly justification of the Indian National Congress movement, and was read with very great interest throughout the length and breadth of this country. The commercial philanthropists of Lancashire whose hearts are touched to the quick by the sufferings of Indian mill-operatives carried on with great energy and vigour their agitation for extending the English Factory Acts to this country, and received every encouragement and support from Lord Cross, who is himself a Lancashire man.

Personnel of Government.

There were many and important changes in the personnel of Government in India during the year. In the spring Lord Reay having completed his term of office retired from the Governorship of the Bombay Presidency and made room for Lord Harris, who had been selected to succeed him. Lord Connemara was forced by circumstances to resign the Governorship of Madras a year before his term of office expired, and Lord Wenlock was appointed his successor. Pending Lord Wenlock's arrival, Mr. Garstin, the Officiating Senior Member of the Madras Council, took over charge of the Government of the Presidency. The people of Bengal were greatly surprised last summer by the announcement that Sir Steuart Bayley had made up his mind to retire a year and a half before the expiry of his term of office and to accept the Political Secretaryship at the India office in succession to Sir Edward Bradford. Sir Charles Elliott who was chosen for the [illegible] *musnad* took charge of the Government of Bengal during the closing weeks of the year. The elevation of Sir Charles Elliott to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal caused a vacancy in the Viceroy's Executive Council, which Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Chief Commissioner of Burma, was selected to fill. Sir Alexander Mackenzie was thereupon transferred from Nagpore to Rangoon and Mr. A. P. Macdonnell was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Mr. Macdonnell being absent on furlough Mr. J. Neill was selected to act for him during his absence. The Duke of Connaught resigned the command of the Bombay Army and left India, and Sir George Greaves was chosen to succeed him. A temporary vacancy having been caused in the Madras Council by the departure of Mr. Stokes on six months' sick leave—the only leave to which a Provincial ruler or a member of an Executive Council is entitled—it was filled up by the appointment of Mr. Garstin. Towards the close of the year it was announced that Sir Andrew Scoble, the Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council, would retire in April and would be succeeded by Sir Alexander Miller. Colonel Waller, Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, and Mr. F. Henvey, Governor-General's Agent in Central India, retired during the past year, and these two coveted posts were filled by the appointment of Colonel Trevor to the Abu Residency, and of Mr. Robert Crosthwaite to the Indore Residency.

Financial.

The past year witnessed a material improvement in the financial position of the Government of India. Sir David Barbour, in his Financial Statement for 1890-91, was able to announce that the accounts for 1888-89 had closed with a small surplus instead of with a large deficit as had been anticipated; and that the Revised Estimates of 1889-90 exhibited the handsome surplus of a crore and three-quarters after partially restoring the Famine Fund and postponing the contribution for 49 lakhs for which credit had been taken in the Budget Estimate to 1890-91. The people of India had not had the good fortune to see such a satisfactory Financial Statement since Sir Evelyn Baring's "Prosperity Budget" of 1882-83. It would have been still more satisfactory had there been reason to believe that the improvement disclosed was of a permanent nature. But, unfortunately the chief improvement took place under the head of opium, which is a notoriously uncertain source of income. There were however increases under some other branches of revenue aggregating three-quarters of a crore which could be relied upon to continue. The Budget Estimates of 1890-91 were not so satisfactory, as they reckoned on a surplus of only 27 lakhs, and even this result was arrived at by imposing extra taxation on imported spirits and subjecting Indian brewed beer to the same tax as is levied on imported beer, as also by taking credit for the contribution of 49 lakhs from Provincial revenues, originally estimated for as a receipt of 1889-90. But the financial position was improved greatly during the year by a considerable rise in exhange owing to the enactment of the American Silver Bill, and Sir John Gorst in presenting the Budget to Parliament, was able to tell the House of Commons that the year would end with a large surplus. The most prominent feature of the Financial Statement was the partial restoration of the Famine Insurance Fund on which the public congratulated Sir David Barbour warmly, and hoped that the Fund would be fully restored soon. Sir David also announced that the existing contracts with the Provincial Governments which were made in 1887 would be left to run their course. During the past year the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, the British Indian Association, the Calcutta Trades Association and almost all public bodies in the Lower Provinces strongly urged upon the Government of India, in view of the improved condition of the finanes, to abolish the Income tax. The Governor-General in Council not only declined to comply with this reasonable request, but declared in unmistakable language that that the "odious" impost would form a permanent feature in the fiscal system of the [illegible]

[illegible] tive du[illegible] a Preven[illegible] object of which was to provide an ea[illegible] law that could be applied by any Local Go[illegible] ment to any part of the territories under its control, was carried through the Supreme Council. The necessity of a general measure of this kind was obvious and was generally admitted. The Guardians and Wards Bill, the Railway Bill and the Charitable Endowments Bill were also passed during the past Calcutta Session. The Guardians and Wards Bill as amended by the Select Committee met with general approval. In connection with the Railway Bill which had been before the Council for four years representations had had been made from various parts of the country, pointing out the inconveniences and discomforts experienced by third-class passengers, who constitute the bulk of the passenger traffic in this country, and the necessity of providing latrine accommodation for them in trains had been strongly insisted upon. But this most reasonable demand was not complied with, and the Native community throughout India felt deeply disappointed. The Charitable Endowments Act also failed to give satisfaction to that community. It was felt that the mere appointment of a Treasurer of charitable endowments who was to have nothing to do with their administration would not meet the necessities of the case. During the Simla Session the Home Member carried through the Council a Census Bill, as also a Bill for amending the Emigration Act; and the Financial Member, the Salt Act Amendment Bill and also a Bill for increasing the investment of the Currency Department in Government Stock from six to eight crores of rupees. The North Western Provinces and Oudh Re-organization Scheme having been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, a Bill was brought forward by Mr. Robert Crosthwaite in order to provide the legislation required for carrying it out. The main object of this measure was to extend the authority of the Allahabad Board of Revenue to Oudh, to relieve the Commissioners in that Province of their duties as Sessions Judge, and to transfer appeals under the Oudh Rent Act from the Court of the Judicial Commissioner to the Revenue Board. The Bill did not satisfy either the amalgamationists or the anti-amalgamationists. The former contended that the Bill was a half measure as it did not bring Oudh under the jurisdiction of the North-West High Court; while the Taluqdars urged that the transfer of appeals under the Oudh Rent Act to the Allahabad Board of Revenue involved breach of faith on the part of Government. No heed was given to the protest of the Taluqdars and the Bill was passed substantantially in the shape in which it had been introduced.

The Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were not particularly active during the past year, while the North-West Council enjoyed perfect rest as in the previous year. The most important measure passed by the Bengal Council was a Bill to amend the law relating to the Port of Calcutta. As one of the clauses of this Bill invaded private rights, it was strongly objected to by the Chamber of Commerce and the British Indian Association. The President of the Council, however, declared that the question to which attention had been drawn by the Chamber and the Association did not arise in connection with the Bill and that when the time came for raising it, the matter would be carefully considered. Towards the close of the year a Bill was brought forward by the Legal Remembrancer with the object of removing all absolute enactments from the Bengal Statute-Book. A Bill was introduced into the Bombay Council to enable the Courts to punish criminally certain breaches of contract on the part of the servants of the local Municipal Corporation. The framers of this measure, however, overlooked the fact that the most frequent cause of strikes such as those against which it was aimed, is tyranny or extortion on the part of Municipal underlings or contractors, and that men of this class will find in the proposed law a powerful lever for the attainment of their [illegible] one of the ring-leaders

The rela[illegible] the Amir of Afghani[illegible] public attention during the p[illegible] Rahaman returned to his capital after a [illegible] absence in Afghan Turkestan. The Amir, jealous of even the appearance of interference in the internal government of his kingdom showed signs of resentment against the Government of India, not only in the matter of punishment of the rebels who aided Ishak Khan, but also in regard to the extension of the railway in New Chaman, the survey of the Khyber route, the opening out of the Gomal Pass and the Zhob country. All these measures excited grave suspicions in the Amir's mind. At one time it was rumoured that the Amir had been completely alienated from the British Government. Although this rumour was not well founded, there were good grounds for believing that the relations of Abdur Rahaman with the Government of India during the past year were not so satisfactory as they were before.

The past year witnessed great progress in the carrying out of the Imperial Defence scheme. The Viceroy, in the course of his autumn tour, visited the Phulkian and Rajput States which have undertaken to participate in the defence of the Empire. His Excellency inspected the War Service Corps of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind, Ulwar, Jodhpore, Jeypore and Bharatpur, and was much pleased with the progress made. At Patiala where Lord Dufferin had inaugurated the Imperial Defence scheme two years ago, Lord Lansdowne appropriately announced an extension of the same policy. His Lordship said that in course of time the Government of India would accept, wholly or in part, some of the numerous offers which were still open to it. The Viceroy was careful to explain that in dealing with this question he and his colleagues would proceed

carefully and deliberately, making sure of each step which they take before attempting a further advance. Lord Lansdowne declared in plain and emphatic terms that the essence of the whole scheme was that there should be no compulsion in the matter and that only those States should be singled out which were not only willing but anxious to bear their part with the Government of India in defending the Empire in the hour of need. This important declaration was received with great satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of the country, and it furnished ample evidence of Lord Lansdowne's anxiety not to impose too heavy a burden on the Feudatory States in this matter.

The Viceroy did not, however, exercise the same care and deliberation in sanctioning the appointment of a European tutor for the young Maharaja of Gwalior. The late Maharaja had in his death-bed earnestly implored Lord Dufferin not to place his son and heir under the instruction of Europeans. His Lordship gave a favourable consideration to this request of the dying Chief and caused an assurance to be conveyed to him a few hours before his death that every possible effort would be made to meet his last wishes. No compact between the Peramount Power and a Feudatory Chief could be more binding than this acceptance of the last request of the dying Sindia; and yet the Foreign Office did not hesitate to place his son under a European tutor for training. The Council of Regency made a mild protest against the arrangement, but no heed was paid to it. The resignation of Mr. Kirtane, the Dewan of Indore, followed by the resignation of one of the Judges and the dismissal of another Judge, naturally directed much public attention to the affairs of that State. Mr. Khunderao Bedarkar was appointed to the Dewanship. It was generally felt that frequent changes in the *personnel* of the administration were not desirable in the interests of the parties concerned in the well-being of the State. There was a revolution in the frontier State of Manipur. One night a number of armed soldiers led by

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...siderable... were disturbances in the Bombay Presidency, ... introduction of a new revenue ... under which the ryots were called upon to pay their rents in cash instead of in kind as before. They were extremely dissatisfied with the new arrangement and demanded the dismissal of the Dewan, Mr. Shamrao Narayan Laud. As this demand was not complied with, large numbers of cultivators assembled at the Nawab's capital and persisted that the Dewan should be removed and their grievances redressed. They were told to disperse and return to their homes, and as they refused to do so, the Political Agent ordered the troops to charge and a slaughter of unarmed villagers followed. After a careful investigation into the whole affair, the Bombay Government found it necessary to intervene. The Dewan was called upon to resign and Major Kennedy was appointed to assist the Nawab in the administration of his State.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

Many important matters relating to the internal administration of the country were dealt with during the past year. The Government of India took up the question of Police Reform in right earnest and generally indicated its views on it, leaving it to the Local Governments to take such action in the matter as they thought fit. The Bengal Government had expressed the opinion that head constables should not, as a rule, be employed in investigation; but the Supreme Council did not agree with Sir Steuart Bayley on this point. Then, the Government of India held that the Jury system was unsuited to the country; that deserving Inspectors should be promoted to the Subordinate Executive Service; and that the Native Magistracy being weak the District Magistrate should exercise greater supervision over his subordinates. These views did not find favour with the Native community. The Government of India made an elaborate defence of its Excise policy against the attacks made by Mr. W. S. Caine and his supporters. The defence which was contained in a voluminous despatch addressed to the Secretary of State was not successful; but the Governor-General in Council frankly confessed that the extension of the outstill system in Bengal was a mistake; and that this measure led to an increase in drinking. This confession was highly honourable to the Government of India. The Governor-General in Council sought to make out that as soon as it was discovered that the extension of the outstill system in Bengal had led to an increase of drinking, steps were taken at once to remedy it. This attempt was a failure, as no measures were adopted to check the spread of drinking habits among the people until the hands of Government were forced by a powerful agitation. The Government of Lord Lansdowne dealt with the Leprosy question in a very sensible manner. The opinions of the Local Governments on the Draft Bill for the segregation of lepers having been received, the Governor-General in Council informed the Secretary of State for India that many of the highest medical authorities in India considered that the evidence at present available went to show that leprosy is only contagious in the sense that it is inoculable, and that inoculation plays only a very subordinate part in determining the spread of the disease. The Government of India rightly decided to await the result of the labours of the English Leprosy Commission. The Commissioners arrived in India towards the close of the year, and two members of the Indian Medical Service were appointed to co-operate with them in their investigations. The commercial philanthropists of Lancashire having carried on a persistent agitation for the extension of the English Factory Acts to this country, the Secretary of State asked the Government of India to amend

[redacted]

...dia ...on to ...ng Act. ... the chief manufac... ...es, examined a considerable number ... witnesses, and submitted their report towards the close of the year and the report was referred to the Local Governments for their opinion. The Government of India also appointed a Commission to enquire into the working of Native passenger ships. The manner in which evidence was first produced before the Commission led the public to regard it as an attempt on the part of the Government of Bengal to obtain some ground for carrying out the recommendations made by it. It was not, however, expected that the labours of the Commission would result in any further restrictions being put in Native passenger traffic.

PROVINCIAL.

The general administration of the provinces was carried on during the past year on the same lines as before, and there was nothing to distinguish it from the ordinary run of events. Bengal suffered a heavy loss from the premature retirement of Sir Steuart Bayley whose departure was deeply regretted by all classes of the community, and a movement was set on foot for commemorating his services in a befitting manner. Early last year the late Lieutenant-Governor passed final orders on the report of the Sone Canals Commission which had been under consideration for upwards of two years. The orders were extremely disappointing, as they practically left where they were and nothing was done to redress the grievances of the cultivators on the Sone Canals. The Durbhanga Temple case naturally created much excitement among the Hindu community of Behar. Sir Steuart Bayley severely reprimanded the District Magistrate under whose orders the temple was destroyed. The religious feelings of the Hindus having been outraged, some foolish people among them created disturbances during the Mahomedan festival of Bukrid, and were severely punished. The agrarian disputes in Chota Nagpore occupied a good deal of the attention of the Bengal Government during the past year. Sir Steuart Bayley visited the province and conferred with the local officers on the subject. He made himself thoroughly acquainted with the facts of the case, but unfortunately he did not send away from the province the German Missionaries, whose interference had produced the difficulty. The action of the Bengal Government in the matter of the Durga Puja holidays caused much dissatisfaction and disappointment among the Hindu community. Earnest protests were made against Sir Steuart Bayley's orders as sanctioned by the Government of India; but these were of no avail. The Bengal Government also failed to take proper action in regard to the indigo disputes in Jessore. Many parts of the Lower Provinces, as usual, suffered severely from floods during the past year, and much distress was thereby cause among the poor classes of the people.

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Sir Auckland Colvin continued to take much interest in the sanitary improvement of the larger towns. He caused the water-works of Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Agra to be carried on with great vigour, and the Agra works were opened by the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit to that city in the course of his autumn tour. Sir Auckland took up the question of reforming the civil courts and deputed an experienceed judicial officer to enquire into the working of the village courts in the Madras Presidency. He recorded a minute on the subject of Technical education and appointed a Commission to enquire as to whether there was any demand for trained mechanics in his satrapy. The ill-feeling between Hindus and Mahomedans at Aligurh which had existed from long time became so pronounced and bitter last year that the Government was obliged to interfere. With a view to mark his severe displeasure with the leaders of the two communities, Sir Auckland ...ded them from the D... ...olvin precluded ... He ord... ...ar held by the Viceroy at Agra. ... enquiry to be made into the charges preferred against Mr. Wright in connection with the Cawnpore Assault case, but the enquiry ended in a *fiasco* and nothing was done to remedy it.

In the Punjab, too, the question of sanitation occupied a good deal of the attention of the Local Government. Following the example set in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, Sir James Lyall established a sanitary Board for his satrapy. He, however, rightly held that a Bill for village sanitation, as has been framed by Sir Auckland Colvin, would be not only a dangerous but an unnecessary innovation. He deprecated any legislation for giving the District Magistrate power to fine villagers for insanitation and to impose punitive sanitary establishments on such as do not improve their condition after warning. Sir James Lyall, plainly told the Government of India that the villages are much more healthy in the Punjab than the towns; that though the drinking water is constantly not what Englishmen would call pure, it did not injure the health of the people; and that they are so accustomed to the presence of manure heaps that they are unaffected by them. The question of the municipal administration of Simla came up before the Punjab Government last year upon a memorial presented by a section of European rate-payers praying for the abolition of the Simla Municipality as now constituted; and the subject is still under consideration. Sir James Lyall took prompt notice of the charges preferred against Mr. Warburton in the columns of the *Tribune*, and he not only severely reprimanded that officer but transferred him to another district. Sir James, however, failed to take proper action in regard to the high-handed proceedings of the local authorities of Rohtok, who appointed respectable Hindus to be special constables during the Bukrid festival and compelled them to witness the slaughter of kine.

The retirement of Lord Reay from the Governorship of Bombay was deeply regretted by all classes of the Native community who set on foot a movement for the purpose of com...

memorating his Lordship's services in a fitting manner. Another movement was initiated in that. Presidency for establishing an Indian Sandhurst for a Memorial of the Duke of Connaught's command of the Bombay Army. Though the proposal met with the cordial approval of the Duke the Government of India, acting under the advice of Sir Frederick Roberts, declined to sanction it. The new Governor, Lord Harris, created a favourable impression by his just utterances, but did nothing important during the year. In Madras Lord Connemara continued to win golden opinions from all classes of the community till the hearing of the Connemara Divorce Case, and his best friends deeply regretted that he did not leave the country a month earlier. Previous to his departure, however, he was able to review the report of the Committee appointed by him two years ago for the purpose of enquiring into the working of the Madras Agricultural Department. The result of the enquiry clearly showed that the Department had failed to justify its existence, and the money spent on agricultural education and so-called agricultural improvement had been simply wasted. The Courtallum Case naturally created much excitement among the Hindu community of the Madras Presidency. The insanitary condition of Madras city occupied a good deal of public attention during the past year.

In the minor Provinces nothing of any particular importance occurred in 1890. Sir Charles Crosthwaite carried on with great vigour and energy the work of settling Upper Burma till the closing weeks of the year. In Assam the new Chief Commissioner, Mr. Quinton, was chiefly occupied with the consideration of the coolie question during the past year. In the Central Provinces Mr. Alexander Mackenzie, as usual, devoted himself to the task of reforming abuses in the various departments of the administration. He took particular interest in promoting technical education in his satrapy and adopted some excellent measures for that purpose.

GENERAL.

When the past year op[illegible] Royal [illegible] ness the Prince Albert Victor of [illegible] making his auspicious tour in this country. Wherever His Royal Highness went he was received with grand demonstrations of loyalty; but none of these could surpass in warmth and brilliancy the reception that was accorded to the Royal Visitor in the metropolis of British India where he arrived in the first week of the year. Both in point of splendour and loyal feeling the reception compared favourably with what had been accorded to his illustrious father fourteen years back. Leaving Calcutta Prince Albert Victor visited Northern India, the important States of Rajputana, spent a few days in shooting in the Nepal Terai and then finally embarked at Bombay for England towards the close of March. The demonstration made in his honour impressed the Royal visitor with the warmth of Oriental loyalty, The visit was also a source of supreme gratification to the people of India, inasmuch as it convinced them that their beloved and gracious Sovereign and her family take a deep personal interest in their welfare. The whole of India rejoiced in the Royal visit which it was earnestly hoped, would be productive of excellent results.

Trade was abnormally dull during the greater part of the past year. Neither in imports nor in exports was there any life, and business all round was almost paralysed by the great uncertainty widely felt regarding the fortune of silver and exchange. Native dealers as well as European merchants lost so much money owing to the enormous fluctuations experienced in exchange that they were practically afraid to commit themselves far ahead to business of any magnitude. In exports too, the fluctuations in exchange exercised a most baneful influence, and it was clearly seen that trade could not be expected to improve until the silver question was settled or at least the fear of another heavy rise or fall in exchange was removed. The National Association for suplying female medical aid to the women of India under the presidency of the Marchioness of Lansdowne continued to make steady progress, and the Indian Association for Cultivation of Science did much useful work during the past year, under the able guidance of Dr. Mahendra Lal Sirkar. Many distinguished visitors came out to India during the closing weeks of the year, notably His Imperial Highness the Czarewitch, the heir-apparent to the throne of all the Russias. The whole civilised world watched with great interest and anxiety the result of the experiments in Dr. Koch's new discovery of the cure of consumption, and consumptive patients flocked to Berlin to undergo his treatment. The young Emperor of Germany manifested great interest in the matter and opened free hospitals at the cost of the Empire. The Mahomedan Conference met at Aallahabad during the last weak of the year, which was rendered memorable by the assembling of the sixth National Congress in the Metropolis of India under the presidency of Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta.

CALCUTTA.

Municipal and the University affairs occupied a good deal of public attention in Calcutta during the past year. The working of the new Municipal Act in regard to the assessment of residential houses produced much dissatisfaction among the Native rate-payers. A grand meeting was held in the Town Hall to protest against the provisions of the Act concerning this matter and also in regard to the recovery of rates for bustees from the landlords, and a Memorial praying for their amendment was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor. The Bengal Government having rejected the memorial, an appeal was preferred to the Governor-General in Council, whose decision has not yet been given. Dr. Simpson the redoubtable Health officer of the Corporation, distinguished himself last year by an act of gross insubordination to the Municipal Commissioners. He endeavoured to sit in judgment over the general body of Commissioners, who had confirmed the proceedings of the Complaints Committee in a certain case. The Doctor when first called upon to withdraw from the position he had taken up at first refused to do so; but he at last yielded and complied with the d[illegible]nd. A new and [illegible]mendable depart[illegible] towards com[illegible]ture was ann[illegible] the close of the year from the established practice in respect of the appointment of Fellows of the Calcutta University. By a notification issued under the order of the Chancellor, M. A's and holders of the corresponding degrees in the other faculties were invited to choose from among themselves two gentlemen, whether M. A's, D. L's., or M. D's for appointment to the Senate of the University to fill up the two existing vacancies. New rules for the election of the Tagore Law Professor were adopted. The Ripon College imbroglio well nigh caused an open breach between the Syndicate and the Senate; but happily the matter was satisfactorily settled. Some cases disposed of by the Calcutta High Court in its Original side excited much public interest. In the Dum-Dum murder case which was tried at the first Criminal Sessions of the Court, the principal actor in the tragedy, Private O'Hara, of the Buffs, was sentenced by Mr. Justice Norris to the extreme penalty of the law. But law and legal quibble triumphed over justice and the murderer went off scot-free—a result which gave the Native public a rude and painful shock. The judgment delivered by the Full Bench of the High Court in the case contained no argument which could make it clear to the lay mind that the discharge of O'Hara was either lawful or just, and the Native community was convinced that there had been a disgraceful miscarriage of justice. The Hearsey Libel case against the *Pioneer*, after an eventful career, came to a sudden and unexpected end last year. Mr. Allen's authorship of the defamatory article having been *prima facie* established, he was committed to the sessions, at which the learned Chief Justice himself presided. The accused pleaded guilty and was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 3,000. The sentence was regarded with general satisfaction and the public felt that if it erred at all it erred on the side of leniency. The Solomons case and the Chartered Bank case brought to light grave defects in the management of Calcutta Banks. For sometime during the past year the great gamble in gold stock occupied the sole attention of the Calcutta share market to the exclusion of all legitimate business. So strong and wide-spread was the gold mania that nearly every firm in Calcutta attempted to launch a company. The gold fever, however, abated to a great extent towards the close of the year. An accident occurred to the Kidderpore Dock Works, which threatened the stability of the whole scheme, and considering the enormous sums of money expended on it, the accident was ittle short of a catastrophe.

OBITUARY.

It is now our painful duty to record the names of the distinguished persons who were gathered to their fathers during the past year, and the list is unhappily a very long one. Europe was deprived of one of its crowned heads by the death of King William of Holland, who did not long survive the vote of the States-General declaring his incapacity to rule. The chief effect of this event was to still increase the feminine element in the monarchical administration of Europe. Germany had to mourn the loss of the Empress Augusta and of Dr. Dollinger, the famous theologian, who was one of the most energetic members of the moderate Catholic party and the bitter foe of ultramontism. Austria was deprived an eminent statesman by the death of Count Audrassy, who had taken a prominent part in the proceedings of the Berlin Congress. Italy lost Prince Amadeo, the younger brother of its reigning monarch King Humbert, who had been placed on the throne of Spain by General Prim, the famous Spanish "King-maker," but who finding the place too hot for him resigned and returned home. France lost Alphonse Karr, a celebrated author, and the Celestial Empire was deprived of a most enlightened statesman by the death of the Marquess Tweng, the Chinese Ambassador at the principal Courts of Europe, who appreciated the benefits of Western civilization. England lost a good classical scholar and a conscientious politician in the Earl of Camaroon, who had on several important occasions sacrificed power and emolument to conviction—a sight always rare in this planet of ours. She had also to mourn the loss of Professor Therold Rogers, an industrious and distinguished worker in the [illegible]ld of economics; of Sir Richard Burton, a [illegible]xplorer and linguist, who knew 35 differ[illegible] the discoverer of lake fiel[illegible] Edward Chadwick, famous c[illegible]d true philanent tongues [illegible]omposer, Tanganyika in Afri[illegible] the veteran sanitary [illegible]thropist; of John Barnet, a c[illegible]ated [illegible] whose death removed a prominent figure from the world of music; of Sir Louis Mallet, one of the greatest authorities on commercial and fiscal questions, who had for many years filled the post of permanent Under-Secretary in the India Office; of Sir William Gull, a renowned physician; of Mr. Justice Manisty, a learned and panistaking judge; of Mr. Talbot, the father of the House of Commons; of Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, a divine of acute intellect, wide research and liberal views; and of Sir John Huddleston, one of the soundest and most practical lawyers of the day, whose industries was proverbial, and by whose death the legal profession lost one of its brightest ornaments; of Sir Josehp Edgar Boehm, a great sculptor; and of Cardinal Newman, a devout mystic and acute dialectician. In Sir John Henry Newman passed away the last and greatest of the movement which convulsed the English religious world and whose succession to the Church of Rome forty-five years ago dumb-foundered his countrymen and amazed his friends. The religious world also sustained a heavy loss by the death of Mrs. Booth, wife of General Booth of the Salvation Army. The death of Mr. Beggar deprived the Irish Home Rule party one of its most enthusiastic members, and by the death of Lady Rosebery, the Liberal party lost an influential social ally. Among the distinguished Anglo-Indians who were gathered to their fathers during the past year may be mentioned Lord Napier of Magdala, one of the brighest military ornaments of England; Sir Barnes Peacock, one of the greatest lawyers and ablest judges who ever came out to India and one of the most distinguished English-

men who have left a high reputation in this country; Sir Michael Westropp; Sir Louis Jackson; and Mr. Robert Knight, the veteran jounalist and one of the truest and best champions of India. India lost two of her Feudatory Chiefs—the Maharaja of Dhar in Central India and the Thakore Saheb of Rajkot in Kattywar. Bengal had to mourn the loss of Mr. Gyanendra Nath Tagore, the first Native of India who was called to the English Bar, of Raja Purna Chandra Singh, of Babu Mohesh Chandra Chowdhry, of Rai Deno Nath Ghose Bahadur, of Mahomahopadhya Tarini Churn Smritiratna, and of Babu Khetter Nath Bhuttacharjee, while the gloom cast on many a Calcutta household by the sad and melancholy death of Dr. Sasi Bhusan Dey at Purulia has hardly yet been dispelled. Behar mourns the lossof Rai Hari Mohun Thakur of Bhagalpore and Nawab Lutf Ali Khan of Patna; the United Provinces of Mir Shahamut Ali, late of the Political Department the Punjab, of Sir Nowajish Ali Khan and of Babu Nobin Chandra Roy; Bombay, of Sir Mungledas Nathubhoy; and Madras, of Mr. Sabba Rao. Feudatory India lost Sir Deva Singh of Patiala, Nawab Munir-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad and Nawab Sadik Hossein of Bhopal. The Native Church in India was deprived of one of its oldest and most respected members by the death of the Rev. Modhusudan Seal.

CONCLUSION.

The above is necessarily an imperfect retrospect of the past year. It was a year of sorrow, suffering and disappointment. May the new year under God's blessing prove more prosperous and happy!

THE SIXTH NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[THIRD DAY.]

THE sittings of the Indian National Congress were resumed on Monday last at the Tivoli Gardens, where there was, as usual, a very large attendance, there being no indication of any diminution of interest in the proceedings. The first subject taken up by the delegates was that of the Salt tax, which was introduced by Mr. Pringle Kennedy, who said:—

Mr. President and fellow-delegates, the Resolution I have the honor to propose is as follows:—

"That the condition of the finances of India having greatly improved, and those special circumstances on which the Gove[illegible] ment relied to justify the recent enhancement of the sa[illegible] having ceased to exist, this Congress considers [illegible] the enhancement referred to should [illegible] date, and empowers its Presid[illegible]-tax on the subject in its n[illegible]ential that roy in Council."

Not e[illegible]t at an early [illegible]t a special memorial [illegible]ehalf to H. E. the Vice-

[illegible]ry body in India is a contributor to the Abkari revenue, and if Mr. Caine has his way the number of such contributors will dwindle by shrinkage to a vanishing quantity. All the inhabitants of India are fortunate enough to possess Rs. 500 a year and to have in consequence the pleasure of submitting to the Income-tax. But every man, woman and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial Treasury. (hear, hear.) The salt tax is an income on all incomes down to the lowest. The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages, nor tea, nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay the very beggar widow in the street, has to drop her mite into the Imperial Treasury (hear, hear). Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it. Those ordinarily given are first antiquity, second facility of collection, third that the people do not mind it, fourth lightness of assessment, fifth financial necessity. As to the first, all that I have to say is that other things, such as human sin and human misery, are old, older than even the Salt-tax. As to the second, facility of collection, I must remind you that the working of every revenue department in India eventually rests with red-turbaned gentlemen, in whom the predatory instinct is, I am afraid, generally too strong for any curb of conscience. As to the third point, when I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose it seems to them a visitation of an inscrutable Providence. But when I think of the Salt-tax, my thoughts take me to Feudal France, when that existed under the name of the Gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: at least, if they did, *they did not* hesitate to shoot in those days, and a gallows found a much more expeditious remedy than a poll tax. But, gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small, and the end came, I need not say how. Now I come to the incidence of the tax. Bear with me while I give you a few figures. I shall try to make them as round and simple as I can. First of all from enquiry at Her Majesty's jails amongst other places, where luxuries are not likely to be given, I find that nine or ten chittacks a month, or seven seers and a little over—we will drop the little over—is necessary to keep an adult in health. Now, there are more than twenty-five tens of millions of people in India, and making a deduction for children and others, who need a less quantity of salt than an adult, we may take it that 20 tens of millions rations of salt at the above rate mentioned are necessary to keep the people in health. But if I turn to the latest revenue returns, I find that 7¼ tens of millions of rupees roughly was the last year's salt revenue. This gives 6 annas a head, or it shows the fact that each person has 6 and not 7 seers of salt a year, as he ought to have at the least, (hear, hear). There is doubtless considerable smuggling on the one side, but on the other it must be mentioned that human consumption is not the sole, though the chief, use of salt, and that many of the people consume a far greater quantity than the minimum we have given. I know perfectly well that many of the people have not sufficient bread either, but the price of that is not artificially raised by Government. Let us look at the subject from a different view. In an article in the *Pioneer* some months ago by Mr. Robertson it was stated that a Madras official, who had made a careful study of the question, was said to have stated that the average income of the agriculturalists in the district of Karnal was 12 annas per head. Very rough calculations on my part give me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetter* published several years ago gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and therefore I presume the income, at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, he said, would have to reduce their expenditure to about half. Let us say Rs. 5 for a family of five. Now if these five, ate 24 seers of salt in the year, as in accordance with my calculations stated already they would do, this would be leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, somewhat exceeds the amount of the tax itself, and a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8 as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month and this too on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, out of only Rs. 5 a month. If mine and the Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying [illegible] over 6 pies in the rupee, and if they ate 7 [illegible] the tax would [illegible] nearly [illegible] of 6 seers, [illegible] pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts, ye gentlemen, who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year and grumble at the payment of 4 pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine at the payment of 5 pies in the rupee! Now, sir, only one word more about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about 13 seers instead of 10 seers as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, Sir Evelyn Baring's desired salt would sell for 10 seers, and if salt were duty free, a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millenium, salt would sell at 40 seers for the rupee. But, gentlemen, Government, like other people, must live. We do not ask for the abolition of the whole tax. Mr. Caine is for doing away with the Abkari revenue, others for reducing the Income-tax. We say that already the financial situation is so improved—on this point I believe, a speaker after me will dilate—that a part of the tax may be remitted. By judicious economy and reduction of military expenditure and home charges the tax may be still lowered. When you get your Representative Councils, you may be sure that the Government will listen to you, when you propose to tax yourselves, if in no other matter. If then this burden is still too heavy for the millions of the land, after all economy is made, the only way whereby you can alleviate its weight is by taking some of it on yourself. Gentlemen, when some fifty years ago, John Bright lay prostrate under one of the greatest afflictions that can befall mortal man, Cobden came to him and said "your grief is great, but remember that there are millions of widows and widows' sons who perish this day in England from lack of cheap bread." In this great land of India there are millions of men and women and children this day who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, and with their moral and intellectual faculties blunted, by lack of cheap salt (Hear, hear) I address many of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessity of life cheaper? Fellow delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely, who say your care is all for yourselves, that this movement is simply one for the substitution of dark-skinned for fair-skinned Brahmins, by saying "If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich but let the poor go!" I appeal to you, one and all in this Hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity all the knowledge of this earth is but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal (Loud cheers.)

MR. D. E. WATCHA:—We have already heard Mr. Kennedy with regard to the incidence of the salt tax. The principal object of the resolution is to urge upon the Government that the financial condition of the country having vastly improved the time has come when an enhanced salt duty ought no longer to be a part of the fiscal system of our revenue. I need not recall to your memory the history of this enhancement of 8 annas per maund introduced in the earlier part of 1887. That was brought forward under a pretext. Critics in the press and responsible Associations had shown that the enhancement was uncalled for. Previous to the introduction they had absorbed in two years provincial revenues to the extent of nearly a crore, the Famine Insurance Fund 3 crores, the Frontier Defence works 4 crores, and there was still a deficiency. But I need not travel over the past history of this enhancement. Suffice it to say that we are in the present position, that the enhancement is called for, as Lord Dufferin himself said, on account of loss by Exchange on account of the lower price of silver, apart from other causes. We are now here to remind the Government that our finances are in such a condition that the duty ought no longer to be remitted. For that purpose let me put some statistics before you. I know that statistics are very dry, and that the Blue Books of a Dry-as-dust are never looked at by an audience; but considering the importance of the subject I hope you will listen to me patiently. Previous Finance Ministers, particularly Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring, two of the ablest Finance ministers since the days of the late Mr. Wilson, had repeatedly stated that the lower the salt duty the better for the country and the better for the revenue, because the lower duty stimulates consumption and the higher duty restricts it. That has been admitted by the Government, but for your sake I should like to give some statistics upon the point. Before the salt duty was reduced by the Ripon-Baring Regime the average consumption for the 4 years 1878-81 was 27 lakhs of maunds. After it was reduced the average consumption from 1882 to 1886 (the year before the duty was again raised) was 30 lakhs 830 maunds, showing an increase of 13 per cent and had there been no enhancement of the duty I am certain that the [illegible] sur[illegible] ce[illegible] [illegible] at the annual rate of 3 per [illegible]t.—a very good thing for the country, since salt is one of the necessaries of life to the millions. It is for want of this necessity of life that there is a greater mortality in the land among our cattle (Hear hear) The first effect of the enhancement, as you must perceive in your different provinces has been to restrict consumption I know that Sir David Barbour in his last statement and his previous one tried to show that consumption was increasing. It is now about 32 lakhs of maunds. But you must remember that the population is annually increasing at the rate of 1 per cent. and if you divide the increased consumption by the increased population you will find that in fact there is no increase at all, but that the average of 10 lbs. per head is still maintained. That average is considered everywhere but in India to be very small. I will give you some figures as to the consumption of salt in Europe and in the United States, so that you may compare it with India. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 20 lbs per head. In France it is 50lbs; Germany, 25lbs; Russia, some of whose economic conditions are identical, 19lbs; Austria, 14lbs; Italy, 18lbs; Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17lbs. The consumption in the United States is 29lbs per head. In India it is 10lbs. Then look at the incidence of the duty. Taking the whole of Europe, the average income is £15 per head and the duty on salt is only 11*d.*, which brings to a rate of 73 per cent. of income to salt duty. In India the rate is 212, though the duty is 4.25d. per maund. Imagine that India, with an income of only 3*d.* per head per day has really to pay in the shape of salt duty than Europe with an average of £15 per head. I need not further dilate on the hardship which even this duty of 8 annas per maund involves on the community. I regret to say that at the time this duty was increased there were in the Councils of the Viceroy eminent representatives of the native community, who said that the tax would fall very lightly on the people. I believe that was in contradiction to the universal opinion in India. I regret that that statement was made because it enabled the Viceroy and other gentlemen to say, "we are glad to hear that the enhancement of the duty is not considered a hardship." This is the way in which you are represented in the Council. Had you been properly represented, the result would have been very different. Now let me read what Sir Evelyn Baring says on the subject of this tax: "Eight annas to the poor ry[illegible]

means a great deal: it means to him perhaps the purchase of 3 yards of cloth or of a little * * * which he cannot afford in times of prosperity." Gentlemen, of all the history of the salt-tax it has been well-known that it is indeed a sort of poll-tax and that it falls very heavily. My own opinion is that with regard to India we should have no salt duty at all. It is at present something like 2500 per cent on the cost of production. I think there is no parallel to it in economic history. Eminent statesmen like Lord Ripon, Sir John Lawrence, and even Mr. P.——of Bombay, a sharp revenue officer, have said that the lower the duty the better for India, and we must endeavour to point out this signal fact of great importance, that it is to the interest of India itself, its people and its cattle, that we should have the duty as low as possible (Cheers). I now pass to the second part of the resolution which states that the finances of the country have improved. I hold in my hand a statement issued by the House of Commons in September last, and you will see from it that since 1887 our revenue has been improving. The land revenue which, according to the accounts in 1887-88 was 19 crores, amounts in the revised estimate in 1890 to 20 crores showing an improvement of 46 lakhs. Opium is a fluctuating quantity, and I will not take it into consideration. The stamp-duty, which was 3 crores 66 lakhs was increased to 3 crores 84 lakhs, an improvement of 17 lakhs. Excise showed an increase from 4 crores 37 lakhs to 4 crores 64 lakhs, an improvement of 27 lakhs, which will not, I suppose, delight the heart of Mr. Caine. Customs increased from 1 crore 18 lakhs to 1 crore 37 lakhs, an improvement of 19 lakhs. There are other items of increase which I need not name. So that apart from salt which now bears the higher duty, apart from opium, apart from provincial rates and confirming myself to Revenue proper they had been an improvement in the last 4 years of 1 crore 26 lakhs. There figures sufficiently show that the present increase of salt duty brings in a revenue of 1 crore 75 lakhs, and we find that according to the latest revised estimate there is really an improvement of 1 crore 26 lakhs. Where then is the necessity for the maintenance of the duty now? But I may point out another thing. In one respect we have been also reducing our expenditure. In 1887-88 the Budget estimate for the reduction of debts for railways and irrigation was 4.6 crores, while for the current year it is 3.5 crores. In the last four years there has been an annual decrease in the national expenditure of 1.18 lakhs. This is an additional ground for rejoicing but for the fact that it is neutralised by a heavy military expenditure, but at the same time there is really an increase of ¼ crore per annum. Now I want to show you how the Government when it grabs more revenue tries to spend more on unproductive work without remitting any portion of taxation. Civil charges have in 4 years increased to 66 lakhs, and miscellaneous charges (I do not know what they mean) to 54 lakhs. The army services have actually increased by 116 lakhs. That is where the money goes. I will not refer to the defence policy of the empire. There are several critics who have spoken against it. A late lamented friend of ours, Mr. Slag, referred to the subject in the motion which he brought forward in the House of Commons, and stated that the policy of the Government was a mad policy; and it is, I believe, a mad enterprise so far as the people of India are concerned; it is a policy which will plunge the Government of India into greater and greater embarrassment. The embarrassment in reference to silver is nothing in comparison with the embarrassment brought about by the military policy of the empire. My opinion is that unless great efforts are made at a future Congress to force the Government to disist from this policy India will have no relief, and some time hence the salt duty will be again raised. Since the Penjdeh scare we have spent 13 crores in defence works in 4 years, and we have not yet done, because in the last financial statement Sir David Barbour has observed that provision has been made for another crore. I will now come to the practical part of the subject. We have of course to submit resignedly to this transfer policy of the Government. We are receiving ammunition, guns, fireworks and all sorts of explosives at our expense; but admitting all that, what are our grounds for going before the Government and saying that the salt tax should be reduced! One of the principal grounds on which Lord Dufferin stated that he was obliged with the greatest reluctance to increase the salt duty was loss by exchange. Here are his words in his speech of 1888:—"Unfortunately it has become my lot on several occasions to add to the taxation of the country, but in justification of this hard necessity it is sufficient for me to remark that since my arrival in India owing to the depriciation in the price of silver the annual accumulation of loss to the Government has progressively increased year by year by a million." Then he says, "the loss in 1884-85 when I first took up the reins of Government stood at 3 crores 40 lakhs; in 1885-86 at 4 crores 40 lakhs; in 1886-87 at 5 crores 40 lakhs; and in 1887-88 at 6 crores 60 lakhs. The latest financial revised statement and explanatory memorandum of Sir John Gorst gives the loss on exchange this year at 7 crores Since the statement was published you are all aware that owing to legislation in the United States with regard to silver the exchange has wonderfully improved Although we had violent fluctuations in August and September still to-day it stands at 1s. 6½d. For the current year the amount to be remitted to the Secretary of State is estimated at 15 millions, and the average rate of exchange is given at 1s. 4½d. making the loss by exchange 7·11 crores. But already 11 millions have been remitted and the average rate realised has been 1s. 6d, and there is no doubt in my mind that anyhow we shall maintain the rate 1s. 6½d. Sir John Gorst himself stated that he thought the rate 1s. 6½d would be maintained. If so what will be the real loss by exchange for the whole year? It will be 4·66 crores. Thus there will be a real surplus of 2 and ½ crores. Sir John Gorst estimates the coming surplus at 1·87 crores, and taking the ordinary growth of the revenue there is enough surplus to admit of the abolition of the enhanced duty. Apart from that there is the other fact that the regular accounts closed on the 31st of March give us a further surplus of 2 and ½ crores. Perhaps they will put more guns on the frontier, but there are those 2 and ½ crores, 1 and ½ crores, and ¾ crores for the current revenue. So that between the two surpluses of 1889-90 and 1890-91 there is an actual improvement to the extent of 5 crores. For these substantial reasons I think we have made out a case for insisting upon it that in the next Budget this enhanced duty must go. (Loud cheers).

MR. G. K. GOKHALE: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to support this proposition that has been so well supported by the previous speakers. My predecessors have dealt with certain aspects of the question, and I will, with your permission, deal with one or two others. I say that the measure for the enhancement of the duty on salt in January 1888 by a mere executive order of the Government of India was a cruel departure, I might almost say a criminal departure from the wise policy laid down by the Government of India when, strange as it may seem, Lord Lytton was our Viceroy and Sir John Strachey our Finance Minister, namely, the policy of raising the revenue in the matter of salt by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of a high rate of duty and restricted consumption, just as they do in the case of intoxicating liquors. I say that this departure was extremely unjust, that as a measure of wise and far-sighted statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and that as a measure the consequences of which we might consider it was simply disastrous. I know these are serious charges, but I think I can substantiate every one of them. First, with regard to the charge of injustice. When Lord Dufferin's Government passed the Act [illegible] said that the measure was not brought forward in the spirit of apology, that the measure of the country were already contributing more than their proper share to the expenses of the country, and that the income-tax measure would only equalize the burdens on the various classes. Well, the burdens being thus equalized in 1886 I ask, on what principle of justice and equity was it that when two years afterwards a new emergency arose for additional taxation it was the poor masses who were selected? How was it that when it was found necessary to create a fresh inequality in taxation of the country matters were so arranged that the inequality was again prejudicial to the toiling masses? I do not know whether it was because the masses were almost certain to suffer silently without protest, I would even say without complaint, whereas their wealthier brethren were as certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and in St. Andrew's Dinner speeches. So much with regard to the injustice of the measure; now with regard to its impolicy. We have on our side an authority not only infinitely greater than myself but one to which the Government of India ought to bow. I mean the authority of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross himself. Three months after the measure of enhancement His Lordship wrote a despatch to the Government on the subject. It was dated April 12, 1888, and in it he expressed his great regret at the enhancement of the salt duty and directed the Government of India in very distinct, unequivocal, and I would say, peremptory terms to take off the additional 8 annas on the first opportunity presented by the finances. He then went on to say that even from the point of expediency the enhancement was extremely undesirable, because in the case of so vast an empire as India it was absolutely essential for the Government always to hold in hand some financial reserve which they might utilize on occasions of sudden and dangerous crisis. So much with regard to impolicy: now with regard to consequences. I am going to show that consumption has actually been restricted by this measure. In 1888 Mr. Westland, our Finance minister said that the enhancement would not affect the consumption of the country. The figures supplied by Sir David Barbour himself belied that prediction. The last year unaffected was 1886-87, and then the consumption stood at 3 crores and 10 lakhs of maunds, the next year 1887-88, the first year affected by the measure there was a fall of 6 lakhs of maunds, the figures being 3 crores 6 lakhs. The next year there was a further fall of 6 lakhs, the figures being 2 crores 98 lakhs. It is true that the figures went up to those of 1886 but that does not show that the restrictive operation of that enhancement has ceased, because we have to take into consideration the important factor of the increase in the consumption of salt owing to the normal growth of the population. That normal growth is 1 per cent. per annum, and taking the consumption at 10lbs per cent you find that every year there ought to be an increase of 3 lakhs of maunds in the consumption of salt.

MR. JAMITRAM NANABHAI HARIDAS:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen—I most cordially support this proposition. My support, however, is really superfluous after the able speeches we have heard. It was previously adopted by the Congress—what we now do is to confirm, ratify, and reiterate it with emphasis. Its very importance obliges us, nay it is our sacred duty to protest strongly against the continuation of an enhancement, which tells so much upon millions of men, resident in India. Let "united, strenuous and continuous efforts, combined with willing and resolute determination, till success is achieved," be our motto. We are under a greater obligation to try again and again till we are heard, for we do so on behalf of the poor dumb masses. Need I remind you of their extreme poverty? Need I prove it before you—*you* of the Congress who are of the people, and who mix among them so frequently—you who every day personally witness it? Need I labour to establish the very apparent proposition that salt is one of the necessaries of life? Need I tell you that price of salt has been raised many times over the actual cost of production? So we have these facts before us:—Salt is necessary for life, salt is very dear, and the people are extremely poor. This is hard, very hard, and exceedingly cruel. Good men exult over the successes achieved in the prevention of cruelty to animals—but I fail to see why we should not have a *society* systematically working to prevent cruelty to higher animals, *viz.*, human beings! Cruel, indeed, is the working of the Salt-tax laws. The proposition before us goes not far enough. The harsh provisions were only recently brought to light in two cases both of a similar character. You will see that if accidentally you happen to pour water into salt, you will be guilty of an offence has soon as you apply heat to recover the salt. Thus has been created an artificial and technical offence out of an act which is both religiously and morally innocent. I am afraid that if the next rainy season turns your salt into water, you must throw it away. You cannot, without committing crime [illegible] applying heat, artificial or natural.

[illegible]—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise with great [illegible] pleasure to support this Resolution, and to add my testimony to [illegible] the great pleasure of the taxation on the masses of India. [illegible] The previous speakers have adequately referred to the [illegible] reasons which led to the increase of the duty on salt, they have graphically described the evils attending on this iniquitous impost, and they have further established, beyond a shadow of doubt that the time has now arrived, when this heavy duty on salt should be reduced. I have no desire to dilate further on these points, but I wish to bring home to your minds, gentlemen, that the Central Provinces from which I have the honour of being sent as a delegate has a special interest in this question. It has been shown that it is a matter of grave necessity that this duty on salt should be reduced all over India, but I say, Sir, that it is not only a matter of necessity, but of great urgency that this reduction should be carried out in the Central Provinces, and that this should be done promptly and without delay. You are all aware, gentlemen, that the temporary settlement prevails in the Central Provinces. I am not going to speak on the advantages of a Permanent Settlement, for I would thereby be encroaching on the duties of the speakers on the Resolution which follows this, but I wish merely to point out that owing to the new settlement, which is now in progress, a state of things is being brought about, which demands that relief of some kind, at least, should be given to the impoverished masses of the Central Provinces, and that this relief can, to some extent, be obtained by a partial reduction of the Salt-tax. As most of you are aware, the periodical settlement took place in 1864-65, and it shortly expires. For the last three years Survey and Settlement Officers are traversing the country, and what has been the result? The Government revenue has been increased as regards some villages 40 per cent, 50 per cent, and over 100 per cent. This, gentlemen, let me assure you, I speak on highest authority possible. Now, who is to pay this increased revenue? I shall show you that eventually it is the poor ryot who will have to pay it. I ought here to remind you that besides the Government revenue, the Malguzar, that is, the owner of the

village, has to meet a variety of other demands. He has to pay the Education-cess, he has to pay the Putwari-cess, he has to pay for the maintenance of the Hospitals, and, lastly, he has to pay Road-cess. The Imperial Government requires him to pay these cesses, but there are other local demands which he has to satisfy. The District Officer proceeds on tour, the unfortunate Malguzar has not only to see that a road is carefully prepared for the progress, but he has to meet the hundred and one demands of his camp-followers, whose requirements it is not easy to satisfy. So great does this evil become sometimes that the Malguzar dreads nothing more than the dubious honour of a District Officer passing through his village. Having met these Government and other demands, what is the financial position of the Malguzar? I have been assured not by one, but by a number of these Malguzars; thus after paying up these demands, they find that sometimes there is hardly any profit left for themselves; and if any, very small indeed. And now the Government steps in and increases the revenue by 40, 50 and 100 per cent. When this last settlement took place it was understood that the revenue then charged would not be increased for at least a period of 30 years; but what did the Government do? It did not directly increase the revenue charges to the villages, but by means of incidental charges and cesses it has increased the duty by 25 per cent. Besides, there are a number of indirect demands which the Malguzars have to meet. There is the imperial road cess, but besides this there is another road cess, the District officers' road cess, when a District Officer goes on a tour through the country, goes on a Succur. expedition they have to prepare the road for him and have to provide the incidental expenses which the followers of the camp are put to. There are also other demands. Last year I asked one of the malguzars for a subscription to the National Congress Fund; but he said it was a very inconvenient time, for shortly before he had been giving a sum of money for a memorial for one of the officers. I asked the officer's name and he said—let us say John Smith. I asked of what service, and he mentioned the service. "Why did you give it?" I asked. "Well", he said, "I never had the the pleasure of meeting the officer, but I gave the money at the instance of the tasildar who had been asked by officials to get contributions towards the memorial." Now I put it to you, was that voluntary contribution, or was it not a species of tax? This then being the case with the malguzars, question arises, are they in a position to meet any extra revenue which the Government imposes? Many of them have mentioned to me that after all these demands are paid there is scarcely any profit left to them; if there is any, it is very small. To what then will the malguzar be reduced? To either one of two alternatives. Either to quit their villages or to increase the rent of their tenants. It is impossible to expect them to quit [illegible] necessary consequence is that the [illegible] rents raised. And [illegible] to-do ryots, but [illegible] live fro[illegible] poor will have their [illegible] who are these? Not the well-[illegible]se who have small holding and [illegible]and to mouth—these will have to pay the enhanced revenue, and will have starvation facing them. I, therefore, put it to you whether the position of the Central Provinces does not demand that this resolution should be carried, that some response should be made to it by the Government. The Government has a right to periodically arrange the revenues of the villages, and they are not likely to give up that right so long as a permanent settlement has not been introduced. So long as that is the case the profits will have to come from those who have only small holdings.

MR. LALA MURLIDHUR also supported the motion, contending that the Salt-tax was a tax on hunger, on thirst, on life itself; and he earnestly entreated the Government to reduce a tax which pressed so heavily on the poor, and deprived them of the only luxury they possessed.

Babu DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARI, M. A. B. L. Attorney-at-Law, asked permission to be allowed to move an amendment to the resolution. He said: Gentlemen,—I have listened with care and attention to the able and interesting speeches in support of the resolution before the Congress. You will excuse me, however, if I confess that I am by no means persuaded that is fit for your adoption. The formidable array of figures set forth by Mr. Watcha but proves conclusions with which nobody quarrels. But conclusions conceded, the rest does not follow. It is always a difficult, delicate and thankless task for one of my years to address a large and mixed assembly like this, specially in opposition to its prevailing sense, and tknowing full well that one is only playing a losing game. I feel it all the same, however, my duty to speak out, and you will permit me to remind you that in the deliberations of these assemblies, one is apt however unconsciously, to be led into adoption of views, opinions and sentiments that do not commend themselves to one's better judgment—views and opinions similar I am afraid to those embodied in the present resolution. (Impatient cries:—let us have the amendment) I shall bring in the amendment in its proper place, and you will be unfit to do your duty if you allow yourself to be so impatient. [The Chairman:—If it be the general wish of the meeting that the amendment should now be read, you should read it out.] I shall obey the Chair and the general wishes and read out my amendment at once. It is to the following effect:—

Resolution.—That the condition of the finances of India having improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt-tax having partially ceased to exist, this Congress considers that the provisions of the Salt-Tax Act regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and for industrial purposes be modified, having regard to special circumstances of various localties, and empowers its President to submit a memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

You will thus observe that my amendment, though it somewhat differs from the original resolution, is practically the same in spirit, though it goes counter to some of the views enunciated in the resolution. It behoves you to bestow upon these latter the most careful consideration before you commit yourselves to their adoption once again. I am aware that this particular resolution received the consideration and sanction of one of the previous Congresses, which to my mind does not count for much. Although a lawyer by profession, and therefore by instinct and tradition inclined and perhaps bound to attach due weight and importance to case law, I must ask you in matters of national importance not to be solely influenced by precedents that are by no means sound. The resolution as it stands, I repeat, is unfit for adoption, because it involves acceptance of principles that are at bottom unsound, though of a specious appearance, and because it is based upon an insufficient conception of facts. The *great* improvement in the finances of India, which the resolution talks of, is, I am afraid, an illusory shadow. Upon the supposition of this *large* surplus numerous demands have been made, which Government has not been able to accede to possibly because of its natural disinclination to relieve existing burdens, lest in time of need their renewal should be objected to, but specially because the Government never had any tangible surplus *to speak of*, wherewith honestly to meet these demands. Conceding, however, that this large surplus is not *purely* suppositions, for there is some, what would be your first demands for relief? Surely not of indirect burdens, which, though oppressive in the long run and objectionable on principle, are lightly felt because of pretty even distribution and fairly equitable incidence, (Cries of No. No). I can only meet those fretful cries of no, no, by reminding you that in the earlier part of your progra[illegible] you have adopted a resolution regarding the i[illegible]ich emphasises this princi[illegible]. And [illegible]mine [illegible] income-tax whi[illegible] although it may now be conva[illegible]sty cries of no, no, I do not ask too much of you if I ask you to be consistent, if nothing else. This digression apart, I will repeat that your first prayer for relief would be in respect of direct and obnoxious imposts of an inquisitorial character, those "little premia for safety and security," as Lord Dufferin put it at Agra in his usually felicitous style, in announcing to the tax-paying world the revival of a monster that had been taken to be dead for good under the fostering care of Lord Northbrook. In spite of your present cries of no, have you been crying out with commendable constancy and loudless against the Income-tax, though so far with no appreciable results. You emphasised the same principle in former years by demanding re-imposition of the import duties, which were abandoned in a fashion that perhaps would not be prudent to characterise in the presence of the Hon'ble Member for Manchester. Your representatives on the platform and in the Press have repeatedly emphasised this principle, and some of you are of opinion that Octroi should replace all other forms of Municipal taxation, though thereby the food, the clothes and other necessaries of life of the meanest and poorest citizens be taxed. Those of you that have any knowledge of the working of Octroi as the only form Municipal taxation in the great cities of the N. W. Provinces and elsewhere will bear me out if I say that the burden is not heavily felt by those concerned, and yet Municipal finances flourish. Eviles no doubt there are concomittant upon the system; but they are evils of detail which the executive must do more to rectify than the Legislature. That such evils do exist also in connection with the Salt-tax no one will deny. Those acquainted with the hardships bitterly felt by sea-side people long accustomed to make their own salt, which they are now precluded from doing, will at first sight greatly sympathise with the resolution, and I myself am far from sympathising with its spirits. I only ask you to consider if you will allow such sympathy to get the better of your reason and common sense. Sentiment has unquestionably its place even in the counsels of an empire, but sentiment alone cannot shape a a nation's laws. Go upon the surer basis of facts, and if some of the details are oppressive set them right. Ask by all means that the people may be allowed to make their own salt so long as they do not trade in it, and let there be the necessary amendment of the local and imperial laws in that behalf. But Bombay and Madras instances of hardship alone however severe, cannot stem the legislative tide. If they could, we have Bengal and Orissa incidents too in support. There are extreme cases of course, and I for ene would be most glad if the resolution was directed towards the rooting out of existing evils. Mere reduction would be no safeguard, and in order to hear the last of these complaints, you must abolish the tax altogether, which you cannot do. I am no apologist for taxation if you could do without it. But millenium is unfortunately not so near at hand, and you must grapple with the situation as you find it. Under existing circumstances, neither the total abolition nor any material reduction of the Salt-tax is possible for some time, which proposition has been frankly conceded by non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, like the Hon'ble Mr. Steel and the Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, who may safely be supposed to know something of the country and its wants, and they deliberately chose and recommended increase in Salt-tax as the lesser of the necessary evils. I decline to take any notice of the strong language that has been used by the learned seconder of the resolution in regard to this frank concession. The presidential gong strikes the first warning that my time is nearly up. I cannot therefore, place before you all the arguments in support of the position—unpleasant no doubt from a popular point of view—that the so-called apologist for taxing the poor man's salt can not help taking up. Nor need I detaining you with any details of the memorable debate that followed the introduction of the measure referred to in the resolution, even if I could do so within conventional ten minutes allowed to each speaker for the treatment of the most important subjects in this "unconventional convention of the empire." The debate must still be fresh in your memory, and whatever isolated opinions may amount to, the press has been pretty unanimous in considering that a slight increase in the salt tax would not make itself very heavily felt, and at the same time would meet the financial exegencies of the State, which it is our loyal duty to meet as well as any thing else. The Government must be carried on somehow and the Bank of England, particularly with its recent monetary difficulties, is not going to find the wherewithal. You very properly demand the reduction of the Income-tax. Some of you go so far as to ask for its total abolition. You demand and very properly [illegible] revenues [illegible] ly one [illegible] again that certain portions of the excise [illegible] should be abandoned. You demand properly once more, that Court fees should be reduced, that administration of justice should be cheaper, that there should be large expenditure on education, that the Judicial and Executive branches of the Public Service should be separated, and that a whole host of other improvements effected involving corresponding increase in expenditure. You ask no doubt also for a variety of economic reforms. But you are not sure that these reforms will be effected in haste, particularly when your shears would be extended to military expenditure also, which you would not be entitled to discuss, far less to curtail, even when you got your representative Councils with all the adjuncts and safeguards you want. We are not at the end of our demands yet by any means. Philanthropists in England, who have some support in this country as well, would do away with the opium monopoly also, if they could, for the moral, material and physical welfare of our Celestial brethren. Anglo-Indian Celestials in the meantime have to be comfortably fed, clothed, bungalowed, polopon'ed, hill-stationed and pensioned in sterling. Where are you to find money for these and other objects, for find it you must. Why then not find it in the least objectionable and most effective and economic way? Nobody likes taxation, in any form but nobody can do without it at the same time. Let taxation therefore be as indirect and as little troublesome as possible, and let *a fortiori*, the salt tax remain practically undisturbed for the present at any rate. Your constant and unremitting complaint should be that indirect and lightly felt imposts like the import duties should have been wantonly sacrificed. Ask for their reimposition, agitate till you have secured it, let there be a real and not an imaginary financial equilibrium; let the urgent demands of the State be properly met, with of course due regard to economy, and there will then be time enough to curtail indirect taxation materially. Do not be led away by hasty impulses or first impressions, but look close into the matter. Decide as responsible members of a responsible National Assembly, brought together under the most excellent auspices, which, though not yet endowed with real and tangible powers, has so to act, and think and deliberate as to make the rulers of our destinies feel that we are well fitted for exercise of power, if the same should be granted to us. Do not by sheer force of solid voting, which by your cries of impatience I

have no option but of anticipating against my amendment, make your deliberations a bye-word for light-headed irresponsibility, but vote with honest regard for the realities of the situation. Let not irresponsible opinions find intelligent support in this Representative Council of the Empire, or what is just the same, its next best substitute. If you let the resolution fall through, you will only have earned or rather augmented your reputation for sober moderation, for readiness to be convinced and to be guided by your better judgment. Bombay has made to both the Calcutta Congresses the richest gifts it was in its power to make, for the whole empire could not yield better and abler men for the office of President than the honorable Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee and the honorable Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta. Let not Bombay have the bad grace of marring its generosity by forcing upon us propositions that are at war with reason and common-sense, and above all with sobriety and moderation, the cause of which let me not have pleaded in vain.

MR. R. D. MEHTA, who was received with cheers, said :—Mr. President and gentlemen, let me first of all thank you for your plaudits, and secondly let me beg the favour of your not hurling me down from this exalted pulpit by your cries of " no no". I am sure, addressing as I am practical and sensible men who have come from such great distances to deliberate on the wants of the country, that I shall be able to carry my point and convince you. We have had the good fortune of listening to facts and figures cited by my esteemed fellow-coutryman Mr. Watcha, who has no doubt made a great study of them; but are you wiser than you were when you entered this pavilion? No ('yes'). There may be a few exceptional cases, but I say no. Suppose the 8 annas reduction is brought into effect, what would be the saving per head? That is a point to be carefully considered. Shall we put forward a resolution like this which will meet with nothing but a rebuff from the Government of India? If Mr. Watcha had told us what would be the saving per head, I would not have come before you. The able seconder of the motion has brought forward for your sympathy the question of the preservation of our cattle. Are we not all agreed that the preservation of cattle should be the chief care of every civilized man? It is in behalf of those dumb creatures, that my friend has moved his amendment. I think you have not quite understood the terms of it. Neither the mover nor myself desire to go against the resolution, but we propose some thing in the nature of an addition which we think cannot but carry great weight with the Government. When you say "Reduce the duty by 8 annas per maund" do you [illegible] ask and do you offer anything [illegible] the kind. [illegible] know the amount you [illegible] ern- to compensate it? You do not do anything of [illegible] Let us be moderate in our demands. Let the Gov[illegible] ment understand what we are craving for, the preservation of our cattle; in that we are all unanimous. The amendment is not contrary to the resolution, and if you will permit the insertion of the words proposed in the amendment it will meet our wishes and the wishes of the general masses of the people whose representatives we are. What is the alteration we propose? The resolution says: "The condition of the finances of India having greatly improved" we propose to expunge the word "greatly". And we also propose to say "those special circumstances &c. having *partially* ceased to exist," not "ceased to exist". Wherein lies the substantial difference between the original resolution and amendment? What we all want is to see that one great point is gained, the preservation of our cattle on which the proposer and seconder of the resolution have laid so much stress.

MR. MOHINI MOHUN CHATTEJEE:—Mr. President and brother delegates, in coming here this morning I thought I should not have to speak because a multiplicity of words is not necessary to recommend what I may call the people's resolution to the people's Congress (cheers). In one way I am glad that this amendment is before you, for it allows us an opportunity of considering our position, not that there was at any time any misconception about it. As far as I can understand the scope of the amendment proposed, with exception of the two verbal alterations suggested, comes to this: let rules be made enabling every man to manufacture his own salt, never mind how unwholesome it may be. Rules, it seems, are to be made with reference to local peculiarities which to my mind, only means, let those who are living seaward make their own salt. Every man may make his salt,—cheap and nasty—and we do not want that. The salt tax is a grievance, because it is a tax on life. It is not an income tax, but a tax on life itself (cheers.) As to the remedy proposed, it is worse even than the malady (Hear hear). It is better that the people should have no salt than have salt which will introduce disease into the system. There is one other point in connection with the amendment to which I wish to make reference. If it is practically carried into effect the result will be an inequality in the price of salt in different parts of the country. I do not know what you think, but certainly I should think it would be an evil to have such a prime necessity of life as salt dearer in some parts than in others. We do not want that some parts should have a plentiful supply while others should have it even at a dearer rate than at present what we want is wholesome salt, cheap, and plenty of it, and that, as I have tried to show, the amendment does not provide for. The argument advanced in support of it is: if you do away with the salt tax, where are you to get the money to keep the Government going? The proposer of the amendment did mention the remission of import duties. If that question is addressed to us, "having remitted the import duties, where will you find the money to pay our way?" I can only reply in the language of * * * * "Having put your finger into my eye, you ask me why I shed tears." Then again, I am surprised that neither the mover nor the seconder of the amendment has taken the slightest notice of the fact brought before you very clearly by the able seconder of the resolution that a low tax on salt always increases consumption. Now, if the lowering of the salt tax would have the compensatory effect of increasing consumption, and thus balancing both sides, that is a strong argument for the reduction. In the next place, I think the proposer of the amendment was hardly correct when he characterized the improvement in the finances of the country as somewhat illusory and supposititious. Our Finance minister, I believe, has himself declared that there has been a permanent improvement in the finances of the country, that he expects out of the general revenue there will be a surplus of ¾ crore not this year alone but from year to year. In the next place, as the able seconder of the resolution has shown, upon Exchange there will be a saving of another ¾ crore, altogether 1½ crores; and if the tax were reduced by 8 annas the loss would only be 1 crore. So that if there is no compensation by increased consumption, at all events the surplus will be able to meet the loss. Now, the question we have to consider is, whether or not, under the present circumstances of the country this highly oppressive tax should be allowed to continue, or whether it should be brought within moderate proportions. We can imagine that on the occasion of some great festivity in the Government House a poor widow might come with her helpless orphan and say, "by reducing this tax on salt you will give me and my orphan children at least eight extra meals in a year." In order to appreciate the full significance of that let me remind you of the fact that more than one-fifth of the population of this great country gets from year's end to years' end scarcely one full meal. Eight annas saved to every family means eight meals during the year; and I say, considering the expensive scale upon the Government of this country is conducted [illegible] ought not to put aside all other consider[illegible] ought to try and find [illegible] dis- [illegible] erations, and we [illegible] those eight meals a year for the p[illegible] ease-stricken, helpless poor of this co[illegible] when the Government says, "Oh, the poor won[illegible] it," there is something so chill, so discouraging, so sickening in this cynicism that the power of adjectives is quite unable to properly characterize such conduct on the part of those who are entrusted with the Government of the country. Well might the poor of the country say,

> Nay, take my life and all
> You take my life when you take the means
> Whereby I live (cheers.)

MR. JAMBU LENGAM MUDALIAR: Mr. President and gentlemen, when I saw my name in the list almost at the end I thought I had very little to say, and that I might depart from this pulpit simply saying that I support the proposition and especially considering that the able mover and seconder of the resolution have put the facts and figures of the case it would be superfluous and almost impertinent to try to add anything to what they have said. But if I occupy the five minutes allowed me, it is because of the amendment that has just been moved and seconded. I will however, confine myself to one point. The mover of the amendment argued that the salt tax, being an indirect tax and even an equitable in its distribution, is an excellent one. Now I cannot understand how he makes out the even and equitable distribution. If he simply means that it affects all people, poor and rich, that may be so; but if he also means that the incidence, the *quantum* of taxation, is equal as between the poor and the rich, there I differ from him. As far as the human consumption of salt is concerned the poor man does not eat much less than the rich man, but the necessities of the agriculturist, the necessities of the ryot, require that they should purchase an infinitely larger quantity of salt for their own use than is required by the rich man. I believe it may be taken at ten or twenty times as much. If you consider that aspect of the case, you will see at once that the tax falls much more heavily on the poor man than upon the rich man (cheers). What then becomes of the statement that the salt tax, being indirect, and evenly and equitably distributed, is a good tax? With regard to the Income-tax the mover of the amendment has been under an entire misapprehension on the scope of our prayer. He appeared to think that we asked for the abolition of the tax. Certainly, not. If we have a prayer with reference to the income tax, its scope is the same as that with reference to the salt tax. We want to reduce the salt tax to help the masses, not to benefit ourselves. We want the taxable minimum to be raised to 1000 rupees, and that not to help ourselves, pleaders, medical men, merchants, and men of that kind, but to help the masses. Then we were assured that if we want for a reduction of the salt tax we should meet with a rebuff from the Government. That point has been referred to by Mr. Watcha, who has distinctly shown us that the enhancement of the income-tax was greatly against the inclination of the Government, and that the Secretary of State sent his mandate that a reduction should be effected at the earliest opportunity that presented itself. I do not therefore understand why we should get a rebuff from the Government if we ask a reduction to the former limit. As to the amendment itself, I ask you to consider whether, consistently with the monopoly of salt by the Government, it is possible to frame acts or rules in the manner proposed. Is it possible to separate the salt required for agricultural purposes from that required for home consumption, and yet to maintain the monopoly? I submit, it is utterly unworkable. I am informed that a system of the same kind was tried at Madras, and being found to be a thorough failure, was given up. Indeed, common sense is enough to show that it must be a failure, and that it is not possible to maintain the monopoly consistently with giving indulgence for other purposes. I trust therefore that the amendment will be unanimously rejected (cheers).

After a few words in the vernacular from Mr. Swami Alaran, the amendment was put and lost, only one or two hands being held up in its favor. The resolution was then put and agreed to without a dissentient.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, who was loudly cheered on rising, said:—I am very grateful to you, my friends, for the cheer you have given me; but as the time allotted to me is very short I will directly address myself to the subject. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, the resolution with which I am entrusted is one, like its predecessor, entitled to be called a people's question. Like the Salt-tax, the question of a permanent settlement is one with which the prosperity of the masses is intimately connected. Throughout the length and breadth of the land you find that the staple industry of the country is agricultural, and that being so the system of tenure under which our agricultural operations are carried on is one of the greatest importance to us. Resolution No. VI. with which I am entrusted runs thus:—

> That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's [illegible] of State in 1862, the principles of which were [illegible] equent Despatch of 1865, promising the [illegible] Settlement to all temporarily [illegible] were fulfilled, and to [illegible] extension [illegible] settled tracts in [illegible] the fact that throughou[illegible] conditions have long since [illegible] pectfully submits that the Gove[illegible]ent of [illegible] honor bound to take up this question of Perma[illegible]ettlement without further delay in view to practical action thereon, so that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand, as explicitly promised by Her Majesty's Secretary of State more than a quaeter of a century ago.

I confess that the question with which this resolution deals is one of vast importance and at the same time one of considerable perplexity, and the time allotted to a speaker by the rules will not enable me to do full justice to it. I will, however, lay before you as briefly as I can certain considerations, which go to justify and support the demands we make. As I have said, India is an agricultural country. The wealth of India, of which the poet speaks, has vanished. The gorgeous fabrics which India produced are now produced to an almost inappreciable extent. Wherever you go you find that the people are being thrown on the soil. Take the estimates framed by the Famine Commission, and you find that 90 per cent. of the rural population is closely connected with the soil, and 80 per cent. of the whole population is dependent upon the soil. Taking later calculations you will find that the proportion has risen to as much as 86 per cent.; and with our indigenous industries dying out this pressure of the population upon the land is growing every day, and you find that vast tracts which were at one time considered as not being fit for cultivation are being taken. The arable area under cultivation has increased vastly; and though the industry is not paying through sheer necessity it is found necessary to resort to lower and lower soils. The effect of this has been that land which was required for grazing purposes is now taken up for agricultural purposes, and the result of that you see is the deterioration of your agricultural stock. If you compare this area with the amount of population you will

find a state of things which must make us really very anxious; that is, that while the area under cultivation is estimated to be a little less than 190 million acres the population which it has to support is nearly 197 millions. I take my figures from the latest Government statistics. This means less than an acre per head, and according to Sir William Hunter at least an acre per head is required to maintain a man sufficiently. Here, therefore, is this one great problem before you. You find that the only industry by which you can maintain your people is in a very serious condition. You may almost say that the highest limit of cultivation has been reached, and the question is: what are we to do? The only solution is improvement in cultivation itself, and here it is that the question of permanent settlement becomes of the greatest importance. If the oldest industry we have is to be maintained in a state of prosperity it is necessary that that industry should be improved. But here, throughout the major part of the country, you find that there is an almost insuperable difficulty imposed, and that is on account of the temporary settlement and the insufficient inducement to make improvements. The policy with regard to land tenure followed by the Government for nearly 100 years has been one of violent oscillation. Whenever there is a crisis in the agricultural history of the country you find that the heads of the Government are quite willing to accept statesmanlike and broad views; but when the crisis is past and the danger is over, for a time there is a return to a huckstering policy of trying to make as much money out of the landholders as possible. The famine in Bengal in 1770 secured to Bengal the permanent settlement. In 1860 there was a famine in the N. W. Provinces, and the gravity of the famine and the danger which the Government saw in the recurrence of the famines, led to the appointment of a Commission. That Commission took evidence and went carefully into the matter, and came deliberately to the conclusion that in the interests of the country it was absolutely necessary that fixity and permanency of tenure should be granted. This recommendation of the Commission was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and it met with the approval of the Viceroy, that great man, Lord Canning. This report of the Commission with the recommendation of the Viceroy was sent to the Secretary of State; and this was what Lord Halifax laid down in his famous despatch of 1862 :—" After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land but to the community generally are sufficient to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue." A more satisfactory resolution, a more statesmanlike wish, a more just and humane conclusion, could not have been arrived at. But it has been our misfortune that when a thing has been offered by one hand the other hand has always been ready to snatch it away. There was a change of Government i... pressure was brought to be... bers of the Indian Council to ... ing out of the recommendations ... ch of 1862. The clear promi... generous principles laid do... that despatch were such that they could not be abrogated; and what was sought to be done was to saddle those recommendations with further conditions. The only condition laid down in the despatch of 1862 was that its terms were to be extended to those provinces where four-fifths of the land was brought under cultivation. It was found that this condition was satisfied by a number of estates, and it was also found that other persons were willing to carry out the terms of the resolution. Here it was that mischief was done. A new condition was imposed in the despatch of 1865, and that was that the recommendations in the despatch of 1862 should be extended to states only if, in the opinion of the executive authorities the public works of the Government were not likely to be so extended within the next 20 years as to benefit the estates to the extent of 20 per cent. Well, you will find that those conditions have been satisfied; nearly 27 years (certainly 25 years) have elapsed, and as to public works you find that all the main lines and feeder lines of railways have been constructed and the main irrigation works have also been done. And as far as cultivation itself is concerned a few facts taken from the latest statistical abstract published by the Government in England will show that all those conditions have been practically carried out in the greater part of the country except in parts of the Punjab and the Central Provinces. In Madras you find that 28 million acres have been cultivated, and only 8 millions are available for cultivation. In Bombay more than 36 millions have been under cultivation, and only 8 millions are available for cultivation. In Berar more than 7 million acres are under cultivation, and only 700,000 are available for cultivation. In the North West Provinces over 27½ millions are under cultivation, and only 7 millions are available for cultivation. In Oudh over 9 millions are under cultivatien, and only 3 millions are available for cultivation. You see, therefore, that the conditions have been carried out; and yet the same system continues —that system which has been stigmatized by Government itself as one which is harassing to the people, as one which unsettles all relations between landlord and tenant, and as one which causes the greatest uneasiness. I am not using my own expressions but the words used in the resolution of Lord Ripon in 1883. The view which was laid down in 1865 was, as I told you, opposed by Government officials in India and England, but a justification of those recommendations was supplied by stern facts which happened later on. In 1874 the riots in Bombay resulted in considerable loss of property and damage to person. Then there was the famine of 1877, and the Government officials were obliged to admit that nearly 40 millions of people belonging to the agricultural population were on the limits of starvation. Still you find there was a disinclination to carry out the principles laid down over and over again and the justice of which was admitted. I will only refer to two authorities whose eminence in these matters is not disputed, Sir Louis Malet and Sir James Caird, both of whom stigmatize the present system. Sir James Caird says that a thirty years' settlement cannot be expected to produce sufficient good to the country. That is the deliberate option of the President of the Famine Commission. In spite of these things we find that the system is continued. The evil is to be deplored in more respects than one. In the first place, rent in India, or revenue, has nothing like it anywhere. Take the proportion of rent to gross produce in any country in Europe, and you will find that India is placed on a basis of its own. In Great Britain the proportion of gross produce to rent is 1 to 33; in Europe generally 1 to 50. The lowest in Europe, Denmark, is 1 to 27. In India it is 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. That is, for every 4 rupees you get from the land you give one rupee to the Government; whereas in Europe out of 50 rupees coming from the soil only one goes to the landlord. Then it is not only the high rate, but the uncertainty of the enhancement. You do not know in what way the enhancement may come. There is the re-classification, which means raising the soil of an estate from the third class to the second, and raising the enhancement itself. All these operations have been productive of the great mischief of putting an end to all improvements those are facts that require serious consideration. I admit that there are grave difficulties in the way of Government from the rupee going down. Of course it would be difficult to settl the question in an offhand manner, but I do not think the difficulty is such as to baffle the resources of statesmanship, and I do not think that our administrators are so devoid of statesmanship as to be able to grapple with it. What we ask is that there should be some fixity... fixity need only be as regards produce. I... That fix... rent were fixed ... the proportion of produce to ... I suppose that would satisfy the ... of the people. It is a problem which can be solved. I appeal to Great Britain and to our administrators here to carry out the principles laid down by successive Government in England principles who have their greatest justification in justice and in humanity. (Cheers.)

MR. RUTHNA SABHAPATI PILLAI :—I beg to support this resolution. I come from the district of Tanjore in the presidency of Madras where these operations are in full swing. I am a holder myself. I know the ins and the outs of the ryots of Southern India; and I can assure you that there is at the present moment a reign of terror in my district. There is not a ryot who is not filled with alarm as to the expected results of the settlement operations. Security of property is no less a function of Government than security of person. We are all thankful to Government for the security of person and property that we enjoy. The protection we enjoy is from robbers, dacoits and lawless subjects; but we want protection from the Government itself: we want to be saved from our own friends. The Bengal Presidency has had the blessing of a permanent settlement; and I ask, why not extend the same to other parts of the empire? The wealth of the nation is the wealth of the Government itself. What ryot will confidently invest his savings, if any, in his holding with the periodical visitations of the Settlement Department before his eyes? This unsettled state of mind has a most demoralizing effect upon landholders who are already living from hand to mouth. 75 per cent of the landlords in the district of Tanjore, which is considered to be the garden of Southern India, are involved in debt. I dare not look into the future. Already rumours are afloat that the assessment will be increased by 50 per cent. Even if it is increased by 30 per cent. the result, I fear, will be simply disastrous. But Government may say, " we must move, we cannot afford to stand still, we must obey the law of nature, the world itself moves." But I should be glad if the Government would apply this law of nature to the administrative machinery of the country and grant us the voice that we demand in... in the affairs of our own country. The change is necessitated by the changed circumstances of the Empire. The Government are eager to obey the law wherever the changes may tend to fill their exchequer, but they are exceeding loth to move in any matter if the change touches their prerogatives or privileges. Only last year a friend of mine, a landholder in the district of Tanjore, suffered by speaking out his mind, by writing to the papers complaining of the threats of illegal exactions on the part of the subordinate officials of the Settlement Department. Although he was a landholder he happened to be a servant of the Government as well. He was a professor in a Government College and also M. A. of the University of Madras. Government taking advantage of his position suspended him for a period of 6 months because, in the bonafide protection of his own interests and the interests of his co landholders, he wrote to the press bringing to the notice of the public the threats of exaction on the part of subordinates of the Settlement Department. I am glad to tell you that the Government of Madras which took this unprecedented step felt it to be such, and placed my friend in a position of greater trust and responsibility (cheers.) I trust that the Government will entertain a similar feeling with regard to the reasonable demands which this august assembly makes; and grant us a permanent settlement and fixity of tenure (cheers).

BABU BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN :—Mr. President fellow-delegates, ladies, and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution inasmuch as I had the honor to support a similar one at Bombay. The time allotted to me does not permit of any lengthened discussion. The observations made may be considered as the principal arguments put forward, those I now propose to place before you may be tacked on to them, and the whole may be regarded as one series of arguments placed before the public for the due consideration of the Government. This is a resolution in which there is no question of sentiment. It is a question which affects materially the the prosperity of the country and which affects the Government also in a very meterial way. It has been observed that this is a resolution not for the benefit of the delegates, but for the benefit of the people. I go further and say that it is a resolution which if carried and accepted and acted upon by the Government will bring benefits to the Government itself (Cheers). Let me notice the way in which the resolution has been divided. It refers, you see, to the despatch of 1862 confirmed by that of 1865. It says that the Government is 'now in honor bound." Observe the force of the word "now." Let me pl... fact, th... place before you another ... Ben... that a permanent settlement was accorded ... gal in 1793, when you will find a minute by the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, delivered by Mr. White, and approved of by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. That approval was made in 1812. That principle was recognized, and emphasized and a line of action was formulated 50 years afterwards in 1862 in the despatch of the Secretary of State. 27 years have now passed and we are where we were in 1812, because there is no indication of a Permanent Settlement being carried out in those provinces where it has not been extended. Why is it so? We all know that land revenue forms the central figure in the group of English taxation, and there is an apprehension of a loss of the prospective increment in the Government revenue based on what is supposed in a mistaken way to be the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal and what is still erroneously considered to be a wanton sacrifice, as it were, of the resources of the State by Lord Cornwallis for giving satisfaction to the gentry. Now it is on account of apprehensions like those that effect has not been given to the despatch of 1862. Before I proceed further let me place before you further statistics. The territories which are under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extend over an area of 140,000 square miles of which 120,000 enjoy the benefits of the permanent settlement. But at the time when the permanent settlement was granted to Bengal only one third was brought under cultivation. The land revenue from Bengal is about 4 crores, and the gross rental is about 20 crores (I make a technical distinction betwen revenue and rental). Then the incidence of land revenue in Bengal is Rs. 55 to 100 persons of the population; in the Punjab Rs. 109 to 100 persons; in the N. W. Provinces Rs. 129 to 100 persons; in the Madras Presidency Rs. 134 to 100 persons; and in Bombay Rs. 234 to 100 persons. Now, apart from other questions which are undoubtedly of a very weighty nature, and which in summing up I shall have occasion to refer to, I venture to think that the high standard of revenue which have been obtained ought of itself to be considered sufficient for the Government according a permanent settlement to those provinces where it has not been extended. You have heard from the able mover of the resolution what area has been actually brought under cultivation and what yet

mains to be cultivated, so that the time has arrived when, apart from other questions this can very well be accepted by Government giving fixity to their demands. Let us see how the matter stands. It stands on a different footing altogether. The experiment of 100 years in Bengal furnishes us with certain data which will enable you to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. This permanent settlement must be considered as the very best manure you can give to the land, for shortly after the permanent settlement of Bengal there was a wonderful increase in the cultivation. Before the permanent settlement only a third was under cultivation but now you will scarcely find one-thiriteth uncultivated. Then you may look upon this permanent settlement as a very important agent in the distribution of the proprietary interest in the soil among the various classes. It has also been a very important factor in bringing about social reform. Whoever had an idea of a middle class? I say, this middle class is the growth of the permanent settlement. (cheers.). But for it you would have had as in Russia, the poor and the rich, but no middle class such as you find pervading this great hall. These, then, have been the direct benefits of the permanent settlement. Now let us see what can the Government expect more. Would it be a sufferer in the long run? Look at the case of Orissa. Orissa was temporarily settled for 30 years, and the lease expired in 1866. There was then, as you all know, a famine, and the Government could not possibly on that occasion think of enhancing the revenue by making a re-settlement, so that it had to renew the settlement for another 30 years. That settlement is still going on, and it will expire in 1895. Progress has been kept in abeyance for 60 years. No capitalist would venture to invest his money in land. For 60 years progress has been retarded by the inactivity (if nothing else) of the Government. We find that in one instance at least that portion of Bengal which has not received this boon does not expect much. There are authoritative reports to Government that if a permanent settlement be withheld from those other provinces, there would be at best (as I had occasion to remark on the last occasion) a gain to the Government of 30 lakhs of rupees. Now, let us see how we fare in Bengal. In the Civil Administration alone in the whole of India there is a loss of 12 lakhs, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by that amount. But in Bengal there is a surplus of 14 lakhs; and what is this owing to? In education in Bengal 83 lakhs are spent out of which only 21 lakhs are spent by the State, the other being spent by private individuals who are able to pay on account of the Permanent Settlement. See how the Government has been [illegible] way. If then the Permanent Settle[illegible] gaining in this [illegible] ment be extended to other provinces I venture to s[illegible] mit that there is not the least reason for the Government suffering in any way in its finances. Whatever it may apparently suffer from a financial point of view in direct land revenue will be more than compensated by revenue from other sources through channels which will be created by this permanent settlement of its own force. Now, while the Government has pledged itself by its despatch of 1862 confirmed by the despatch of 1865, it is undoubtedly in honor bound to redeem its pledge. By according this concession the Government will derive benefit in two ways; in the first place by redeeming its pledge, and secondly by profiting in a financial point of view.

The Congress was then addressed by BABU JANAKI NATH BOSE, and several other speakers, and the resolution being put to the meeting, was unanimously agreed to.

MR. MONOMOHUN GHOSE said:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Subjects Committee have decided that it is the duty of the Chairman of the Reception Committee to move the next Resolution, and I have, therefore, no option but to rise and discharge that duty to the best of my power. It will, however, not be necessary for me in discharging that duty to detain you more than the minimum period which the President has prescribed for speakers in this assembly. Your attention has probably been drawn to a very remarkable advertisement, which has been appearing in the public papers of Calcutta, whereby apparently officially the Government of Bengal directs, or rather professes, to advise that its officers should not attend the Congress even as visitors. (Shame, shame.) I am not surprised at this display of feeling on your part, because speaking for myself ever since I saw that Resolution, it has filled me with grief and amazement, and it must have had the same effect upon every one of you. Gentlemen, it strikes me that more short-sighted policy could not be conceived than that which is the cause of this strange action on the part of the Government. To my mind it displays a want of statesmanship for which I confess I was not prepared. The Government of a country may have a right, I am not prepared to say that it has, it may claim to itself the right that its officers should not take any part in any political meetings or political discussions. Such a course may be open to a Government to take, although I myself should consider it to be almost amounting to a confession of weakness. The Government, if we rightly interpret its action, professes to go further, it says not only shall its officers not take any part in any public meeting, but they shall not attend even as silent spectators or visitors (Shame, shame.) To my judgment it amounts to a sad confession of weakness. (Cheers) A confession of weakness which I do not think, the Government of this country deserves. It must imply one of two things; and looked at from either point of view, the action of the Government is one which we cannot but deplore. It must imply either that the Government has little confidence in its own officers that it cannot trust them to be contaminated with the discussions in the Congress, or it must imply that the Government is really hostile to our constitutional method of public agitation. Looking at it from either point of view, the action of the Government is exceedingly to be deplored. So far as it implies a confession of weakness, I consider that the Government of India is too much strong to justify its making such a confession. I consider it to be a very strong Government, not because as it is sometimes supposed it is based upon the fears of the people, nor as it is said, because it is based upon the disunion and discord, which are said to exist with the different races of India, but is strong, because it is based upon the willing allegiance of a loyal people. Looked at, therefore, from any point of view, it is an action, which is wholly unintelligible to me, and I believe to most of you. (All, all.) We are however, in this predicament, we have not before us any authoritative declaration, certainly not in the words of the Government of India as to what its orders are on the subject, except an advertisement, which is not altogether consistent with another document, written by the Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor to our Secretary of the Congress. In the advertisement we are told that the Government considers it not advisable for its officers to attend such meetings. In a letter, which is placed before us, and printed, and which I shall presently read, we are told that the orders of Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of any officials, or indeed by implication, any members of their household. (Cheers and laughter.) For my own part, not knowing what the exact terms of the orders of the Government are, I think, we cannot do better than adopt a course which the Resolution which I am about to move, suggests should be adopted. We cannot take any action in the matter, until we know what are the exact terms, and what the intentions of the Government of India are. We desire, therefore, that the Government of India should be respectfully moved to place [illegible] in possession of such information as it thinks fit t[illegible] lose on the subject. It is, therefore, that [illegible] reso[illegible] paper before you. [illegible] to discu[illegible] I move thi[illegible] (Cheers.)

[illegible] at this Congress having [illegible] apparently official, in various Calcutta ne[illegible] as follows:—

"The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government Officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a Circular to all Secretaries and Heads of Departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited."

And having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee of which the following is an exact copy:—

BELVEDERE, 26th December, 1890.

DEAR SIR,—"In returning herewith the seven cards of admissin to the Visitor's encosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

Your faithfully,
P. C. LYON,
Private Secretary.

To—J. Ghosal, Esq.,
Secretary, Congress Reception Committe.

Authorizes and instructs its President, Pherozshah Mehta to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers, that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of the Congress even as spectators, and to enquire most respectfully whether His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has or has not correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

MR. GEORGE YULE, in seconding the Resolution, said:—"I have given some study to the instruction, that has been issued from the Government, and also to the letter, which has been written by Sir Charles Elliott, and I must say that I am unable to comprehend their meaning or their purport. (Hear, hear) If their objection lies with the fact that we are a Congress of peoples, I want to know what is a Congress. It is an assemblage of persons of indefinite size. If that is so, then I wish to ask: is the St. Andrew's Dinner not an assemblage of the persons? (Cheers). Are political subjects not talked of there? (Hear, hear). Of late years, in fact, the St. Andrews Dinner has been made the platform from which political spouting might be made. (Cheers.) Yet that is not only patronized by Government Officials, but it is availed of by Government Officials to propound their views. I take it, therefore, gentlemen, that there has been some great mistake about this instruction, that it has been issued by some Dogherry clothed in in a little brief authority. If it has been issued with the sanction of a higher authority, then I state as a positive conviction, that it is a grave and serious mistake. (Cheers.) But if it has received the sanction of the highest authority, if that instruction has been published, and that letter written with the highest authority of the land deliberately, then I also deliberately say that it is a piece of gross insolence offered to a body of men, whose chief public characteristics are, firstly, devotion to the Queen (cheer), and secondly, devotion to the true interests of the country (cheer), and who are animated with as true, and as honest a purpose as any official in the land, (Renewed cheers.) Any instruction, therefore, which carries on its face, as this instruction does, in my judgment, is an insinuation, that we are unworthy to be visited by Government officials, then I resent the insult, and I retort that in all the qualities of manhood, we are as good as they. (Loud cheers.) I think, however, gentlemen, that we may charitably conclude that this piece of business is simply a mistake on the part of a subordinate official, and in that spirit, I cordially second the motion, that is now before the Congress. (Cheers.)

The Resolution was then carried by acclamation and the Congress was adjourned to the following day at 10 o'clock.

FOURTH DAY.

The final sitting of the Congress took place on Tuesday, when there was a large attendance of delegates and visitors. The proceedings were largely of a formal character. The first resolution submitted was a vote of thanks to Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir William Wedderburn and other helpers of the cause for their services during the past year. The text of the resolution was as follows:—

"That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M. P., Mr. J. E. Ellis, M. P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further, that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C. I. E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardly Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings to one or more of these delegates."

[illegible] was moved by the Hon'ble PAN[illegible] ably eulogized the efforts [illegible] it and es[illegible] of D[illegible] Aj[illegible] made by the gentl[illegible] pecially deprecated the sug[illegible] Mr. Hume as General Secretary, beseeching that gentleman not to leave his child, the Congress, an orphan while he was still living. The resolution was ably seconded by Mr. Ahmed Ali, and supported by several other speakers from various districts, all of whom gave expression in very warm terms to the gratitude of the Congress to its leaders and friends. The speakers were Mr. J. H. Cama, Mr. Beglar, Mr. Chander Rai, and Munshi Rahimudden. The resolution was of course unanimously adopted.

The next resolution was also one of thanks for favors received, and was as follows:—

"That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Baboo Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter Mr. T. N. Palit, Baboos Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Brojo Lall Roy, Romanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates."

This was proposed by Mr. Monmohun Ghose, Chairman of the Reception Committee, seconded by Babu Nuffer Chander Pal Chowdhuri, and unanimously adopted.

MR. A. O. HUME, the General Secretary, whose rising was the signal of an outburst of cheering, the entire Congress standing the while, then moved a resolution respecting the place of the next meeting. The alternative lay, he explained, between Madras and Nagpore. The latter, he said, would be the more central and convenient, but until some of the friends there (who had been unable through sickness and other causes to attend the present sitting) had been consulted, a definite arrangement could not be made. He accordingly proposed that the next Congress be held on the

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26th December, 1891, at Madras or Nagpore as may be settled hereafter in consultation between the Madras, Central Provinces and the Berar Committees and the joint General Secretary. This was carried by acclamation without discussion.

The next resolution was that to which perhaps the greatest interest attached in the day's proceedings, namely a proposal to hold the Congress of 1892 in England. Babu NORENDRA NATH SEN was entrusted with this proposition, which ran as follows:

"That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient in 1892, and the several Standing Congress Committees be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles."

He pointed out the advantages to be derived from the adoption of the course proposed, and explained that he anticipated no difficulty on the part of orthodox Hindus in regard to the sea voyage, seeing that the object sought was not one of personal advantage, but the good of the country at large. This view was supported by a long array of speakers from various districts, namely, Babu Saligram Singh, Mr. Chariar, Mr. B. G. Tilak, Mr. Deorao Vinayak, Mr. Dhondo Shamrao Garud, Mr. Haridas, Mr. Luchman Row Govind, Mr. Pratab Singh, Pandit Sham Narayan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Pran Nath Saraswati, Kumar Nilkrishna Bahadur, Mr. Rai Kakeumal, Mr. Sharifuddin, and Mr. W. S. Caine. The last-named gentleman promised the delegates a "right royal welcome" in England and expressed the belief that everything would be done to prevent anything like a wounding of the susceptibilities of the most orthodox Hindus. The resolution was adopted with great cordiality.

Mr. D. E. WATCHA then moved:—

"That of the Funds now in the Joint-General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of Rs. 20,000 be added to the permanent fund, and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and ultimately also added to the permanent fund."

This was seconded by the Rev. Ram Chunder Bose, and unanimously agreed to; as was also another resolution proposed by Mr. Mudholkar, seconded by Mr. A. Chowdhuri and supported by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji:

"That the sum of Rs. 40,000, exclusive of donations, be used for the expenses of the British Committee, and a further sum of Rs. 6,000 for the expenses of the office of the General Secretary, the amounts the several councils are to contribute being arranged in Commi tee Meeting."

Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajodh[illegible] then appointed General and J[illegible] the ensuing year.

This was f[illegible] to th[illegible] ty vote of thanks [illegible] who in fitting terms acknowledged the compliment, and at the same time expressed on behalf of the Congress its deep gratitude to the Reception Committee, especially naming Mr. Manmohun Ghose, the Chairman, Mr. J. Ghosal, Babu Charu Chandra Mitra, Babu Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, Captain Bannon and other gentlemen, including the volunteers, for all of whom hearty cheers were given as they were successively named.

The customary loyal cheers for the Queen which were very cordial and general, brought the Congress to a close.

Latest News and Notes.

THE *Englishman* warns male servants and ayahs of going out with their silver ornaments on account of the *tamashas* which the Congressionists were holding in the Tivoli Gardens the said Congressionists being described as "budmashes," that is to say that Mr. Hume and Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, the late Chief Justice, are no better than the scum of the people and footpads who infest Ballygunje. It is very kind of the *Englishman* to be so careful about the welfare of his proteges, but we cannot help asking what would he say if a wag warned people of blacklegs and welchers in the maidan in this racing season? But we need not ask the question; he has already forestalled the wag. He says "it is a sign of advancing civilization that thieves are beginning to patronize such gatherings."

WE are grieved to announce the death of Babu Shyam Churn Law of the firm of Messrs. Prankissen Law and Sons. He was in ill health for sometime, but the immediate cause of his death was the rupture of a blood-vessel of the heart. He leaves a son and several grand-children to mourn his loss, and his personal friends must be deeply affected by the occurence. Simple and unostentatious in his life he won the good will and affection of a host of friends who sincerely mourn his loss. He has left a monument of his goodness in the Eye Infirmary for which he defrayed Rs. 60,000 lately. His loss will be deeply felt by his brother Raja Durgachurn Law to whom we offer our sincerest condolence.

THE following is the list of the New Year Honors, and we offer our hearty congratulation to the recepients of them:

STAR OF INDIA.

To be a Knight Commander.

Alexander Mackenzie, Esq., C. S. I., Chief Commissioner of Burmah.

To be Companions.

William Young, Esq., Judicial Commissioner, Oudh.

David Robert Lyall, Esq., Commissioner of the Chittagong Division; Sardar Jiwan Singh of Shahzadpore. Colonel Percy William Powlett, Resident in the Western States of Rajputana.

INDIAN EMPIRE.

To be a Knight Commander.

His Highness Maharaja Prabhu Narayan Sing Bahadur, of Benares.

To be Companions.

James Lyle Mackay, Esq., President of the Chamber of Commerce. T. Rama Rao, Diwan of the Travancore State; Colonel Louis Henry Emile Tucker, Punjab. Raja Jagmohan Singh, Talukdar, Atra Chandapore. Theodore Cooke, Esq., M.I.C.E., L.L.D., Poona. Brigade-Surgeon Thomas Edwin Burton Brown, James Edward O'Conor, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce. Walter Roper Lawrence, Esq., Settlement Officer in Cashmere and Jammu. Surgeon-Major Thomas Holbein Henley, Jeypur. William Watt Daly Esq., District Superintendent of Police, Bengal. Charles Steuart Murray, Esq., of Bengal Police. Ernest Octavius Walker, Esq., Assistant Superintendent of Telegraphs.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

The Queen has been graciously pleased to confer the decoration of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India on Her Highn[illegible] Raja Sahiba Sindhia Alijah [illegible]tate.

[illegible]nsinghji Jaswatsinghji, G.C.S.I., [illegible]hib of Bhaonagar.

His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General is pleased to recognise as hereditary the title of "Maharaja" conferred as a personal distinction upon Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jotindro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I.

To be Maharaja Bahadoor.

Maharaja Sir Narendra Krishna, Bahadur, K.C.I.E.

To be Nawab Bahadoor.

Nawab Azmat Ali Khan, Mandal, of Karnal.

To be Raja.

Sir Savalai Ramaswami Modelier, Kt., C.I.E., merchant of Madras. Babu Janaki Bulluv Sen, zemindar of Dimla in the district of Rungpore. Babu Deo Nundun Singh of Sheohar in the district of Muzafferpore. Kumar Ranajit Sinha, of Nashipore.

To be Dewan Bahadoor.

S. Subramania Iyer, C.I.E., of Madras.

To be Shams-ul-Ulama.

Moulvie Jelaluddin, Pleader, Judge's Court, Patna.

To be Thakur.

Baboo Mohendra Narian Singh, Deo of Khursowan.

To be Khan Bahadoor.

The title of "Khan Bahadoor" conferred upon Muhammad Allahdad Khan, Sardar Bahadoor, pensioned Risaldar, shall be continued in favour of his son and heir. Mahammad Kadir Nawaz Khan Sahib, Tanjore. Vellore Muhammad Sheriff Sahib, Madras. Khan Sahib Dinsha Dassabhai Kambatta, Bombay. Mahammad Saleh Jafar, Native Assistant, Aden. Saiyid Ali Mahammed Shah of Patna. Honorable Muhammed Ali Khan, N. W. P. Miyan Mutaf Hussein, Punjab. Malik Zaman Mehndi Khan, of Darapore. Shaik Hisam-ud-din, retired Assistant Commissioner of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts.

To be Rao Bahadoor.

Tiruvatisvarampetta Patthabhiram Pillai, Deputy Collector in the Madras Presidency; Vembakam Kistnama Chari, Madras; Pakala Gopal Rao, Ganjam; Rao Sahib Lakshmansing Valad Matrasing, Sindi; Asam Pranjiwan Vishvanath, Morvi State; Rao Sahib Munsukharam Mulji, Ahmedabad; Ramrao Govind, Hyderabad Assigned Districts.

To be Rai Bahadoor.

Babu Tara Prasad Mookerjee of Revilganj; Babu Calica Dass Dutt, Dewan, Kuch Behar State; Babu Lal Madhub Mookerjee, President of the Calcutta Medical Society; Babu Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, Secretary to the British Indian Association; Babu Durgagati Banerjee, Collector of Stamp &c. Behari Lal, Headmaster, Roorkee; Thakur Mahabir Pershad Narain Singh of Baraon, Pandit Diwan Sihgh, Punjab; Bhai Mihan Sing, of Lahore. Kishori Lal, of Rajpootana-Malwa Railway Police; Pandit Prem Nath, Examiner of Accounts, P. W. D.; P. Anantha Charlu, Madras; Lala Gocul Chand, Punjab; Baboo Gocool Chunder Singhee, Dum-Dum.

To be Sirdar Bahadoor.

Sirdar Lehna Singh, Chimni, Honorary Magistrate in the district of Gujranwalla, in the Punjab.

To be Khan Sahib.

Syed Bawa Mia of Ahmedabad; Munshi Mahomed Ghouse, Central Provinces.

To be Rao Sahib.

C. Rangaya Naidu, Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Central Provinces.

To be Rai Sahib.

Lala Mungal Sain.

To be Sirdar.

Fatteh Singh, of Guda in the district of Karnal.

To be Thuvegaung ngwe Da va Min.

Maung Po Tok, Wun ol Kani; Maung Tun Aung, Thayetmyo.

To be Ahmudan gaung Tazeik ya Min.

Maung Myat San, Rangoon; Lee Kim Seng; Maung Po Le, Myook, Pyinmana; Maung Tun Gywe Myook, Bhamo; Maung Shwe Tha, Inspector of Police Rangoon.

AMUSEMENTS.

CORINTHIAN THEATRE.

To-night, *Monday*, 5th January, 1891.
and following nights
GRAND SPECTACULAR PRODUCTION OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S CHARMING COMEDY
MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The Mangement of the Corinthian Theatre having received many requests that Mr. Geo. C. Miln, whose fame as an orator has preceded him, should, before leaving Calcutta, be heard in the lecture platform, has arranged with that gentleman for

TWO LECTURES,

THE FIRST, ON
"WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE: HIS LIFE AND [illegible] against
GENIUS,"
WILL BE DELIVERED ON
Sunday Evening, January 11th, at 8.30 p. m,
It will be illustrated by views specially made for this lecture [illegible] by John Blees & Co.

CONSISTING OF

1. A portrait of Shakespeare.
2. The Room Shakespeare was born in.
3. Anne Hathaway's cottage.
4. An early English stage.
5. Specimen of Shakespeare's writing.

and other splendid views shown through the Stereopticon.
Those interested in Shakespeare should not miss this treat.

THE SECOND, ON
"THE CHURCH AND STAGE,
AS
FRIENDLY FORCES,"
WILL BE DELIVERED ON
Sunday Evening, January 18th, at 8.30 p. m.
This lecture has been received with enthusiasm in America and in Australia.
Full of wit, wisdom, and worth.

WOODYEAR'S
ROYAL AUSTRALIAN CIRCUS.
Last 3 Nights.

Last 3 Nights.
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JANUARY 5TH, 6TH and 7TH.
3 GREAT PROGRAMMES.
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AND SUITE
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